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1826

History of Rome
improved

by W. Grimeshaw.

By O. Goldsmith.

Philadelphia, J. Grigg, 1826.

THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

FROM the justly acquired celebrity of Dr. Goldsmith, the original compiler of this Work, it seems highly necessary, as well through respect to the genius and erudition of that great author, as regard to public opinion, that I should state the reasons which induced me to attempt the revision and correction of a book, which has been, for a long series of years, so general a favourite in our schools.

That Dr. Goldsmith, in those productions which he intended as a monument of literary immortality, has displayed abilities, which seldom have been equalled, or perhaps never have been surpassed, is generally admitted: but, that in many, which were written through necessity, and published without revisal, he has fallen below authors, whose names are scarcely mentioned in the page of criticism, is a truth, which stands attested by their perusal.

My first intention was merely to render innocuous those passages, which, by their indecency, were sure to promote hesitation in the reader, and to cover with a blush the cheek of modesty. That such recitals should be tolerated by the instructors of our youth, is extraordinary: thus, by repetition, familiarizing the infant mind with obscenity, and associating indelicacy with instruction.

To obviate this, by even a partial rejection of historical matter, has not, in the present edition, been attempted. Such a course, might be fairly censured by the friendly, or, with severity, be attacked by the fastidious. The remedy, I have sought, in the substitution of language, which, without partaking of vulgarity, may be found equally expressive of the meaning.

Though, however, my original plan was confined to divesting the work of those passages which were the most

glaringly offensive, yet, on a more minute examination, it appeared so objectionable, in many other respects, that I determined on the more laborious, as well as presumptuous task, of revising the entire. Presumptuous, indeed, it may appear, for inexperience to contend with prejudice. We read, with increasing pleasure, the fascinating productions of our illustrious Author; whose transcendent talents have given so great a splendour to his classical effusions, that even his errors, the offspring of occasional distress, have lain concealed amidst the glare of reflected brightness.

The Roman History, from which this little work is taken, was written, by Dr. Goldsmith, in two volumes 8vo. —In the year 1770, at the request of his bookseller, he made this “Abridgment for the use of Schools;” and, for that service, received only the miserable payment of Fifty Guineas!—a sum, scarcely equivalent to remunerate the manual labour of transcribing. By such means, is genius degraded, to suit the sordid calculations of avarice, and Literature made the agent of her own destruction.

Candour, however, obliges me to state, that the larger work is chargeable with the same imperfections; and that the Abridgment is, in general, a literal extract. But that continued tautology, so offensive to a well tuned ear, is not equally perceptible in the original; the narrative of which being more distended, the repetitions are, of course, less observable.

Nearly fifty years have passed, since this History was written, which will, in a great measure, apologize for the introduction of those indelicacies, that it has been my object to remove. Half a century ago, *Ancient Literature* was not much attended to by *females*, even amongst the highest ranks; and this compilation was intended rather to assist the studies of the Classical scholar. Though coarseness of expression should always be avoided, it must, however, be conceded, that the same language, which might not be objectionable to an academical student, in his retirement, would be highly offensive when read by

a female: and, when read aloud, and particularly before a teacher of the other sex, she, who does not feel abashed at the recital of indelicacy, must be insensible indeed.

The errors, a few of which I shall shortly notice, may be ranked under two heads—Radical and Typographical. That many of them belong to the former class, will appear on examination; as they are so intimately interwoven with the subject, that it seems impossible, even by the exercise of the most indulgent extenuation, to attribute them to the press. However, those who can be satisfied with nothing less than demonstration, must refer, either to the original manuscript, or to the first edition, if the author was employed in its typographical correction. That I am warranted in my conjecture, will be made evident, by a reference to the cotemporary Reviews; in which, the *two volume* edition is severely censured. The errors of the Press, are indeed easily distinguished, by a comparison of various copies, of which, I availed myself.

I cannot, in this place, avoid remarking, that, in general, too little attention is paid to the accuracy of School-Books; though, of all literary works, they should be the most correct.

I shall now proceed to examine a few passages in the History; allowing the public to determine, to which class of errors these seeming inconsistencies belong. In the third line, is the following: “Æneas, the son of Venus and Anchises, having escaped from the destruction of Troy.”—That Æneas was the *son* of *Anchises*, we have no reason to question; it having always been admitted as historical truth; but, that *Venus* was his *mother*, is true, only as far as the Mount Ida story is to be credited. No doubt, the *Heathens* believed the descent of Venus, and her amorous addresses to the handsome chief, as implicitly as they gave credit to the fable of *Jupiter and Leda*; but, in the present age, those fictions are wrested from the Historian, and assigned to the Poet. A History, which commences in fiction, may continue in falsehood,

and will end in uncertainty. The evidence of a man, once convicted of untruth, is never afterwards to be relied on.

“*Having escaped from the destruction of Troy,*”—To mention that a *house*, or *part* of any *building*, was saved from the *destruction* of a *city*, is perfectly consistent; just as we should say that a particular *bale* of *merchandise* was *saved* from the *wreck* of the *brig Hercules*; but, it would appear rather ludicrous, if one of our Baltimore Papers were to give us a paragraph in this style: “Arrived, yesterday, at Gadsby’s Hotel, our gallant townsman, *Captain Broadside*, *saved* out of the *wreck* of the *ship Milo*.”—For the chronological error, as to the date of his arrival in Italy, we are indebted to the Philadelphia and Baltimore printers; an edition having been furnished in each place, with the initials A. D. instead of A. M.

“Amulius made use of his wealth, to supplant his brother, and soon found means to *possess himself* of the kingdom.” By this mode of expression, the same person becomes both *subject* and *object*; and Amulius seizes on *himself*, instead of a *kingdom*. The impropriety would not be greater, should I say: “Octavius, having procured a *horse*, found leisure to *ride himself* to Washington.” Similar expressions, however, to that, will be found throughout the whole.

In the account of Rhea Sylvia’s going to the grove, a sentence concludes thus: “whom, perhaps, to palliate her *offence*, she averred to be Mars, the god of war.” She was certainly not guilty of any *crime*; but, may justly be said to have suffered a *misfortune*. Again: “The mother was condemned to be buried alive; the usual punishment for vestals who had *violated their chastity*.” This burying alive should have been inflicted upon her bold admirer, *Mars*; not on the unoffending *Sylvia*.

Romulus and Remus are advised to take an omen, from the flight of birds; and proceed accordingly: “they *both*

took their stations upon *different* hills.” *Both* might, if they pleased, stand on *one* hill; but *both* could not be on *different* hills at the *same time*. It might be more perspicuous to say; “*each* took *his* station upon *a* different hill.”

Speaking of the city: “It was called *Rome*, after the name of its founder.” No, it certainly was not called *Rome*; that we know, beyond a doubt; but we might with propriety say: It was called *Roma*, as being the oldest name of that city mentioned by the Latin historians.

“The city was, *at first*, almost square; containing about *a thousand houses*.” Its having contained *one thousand*, or even *two thousand* houses, *shortly after its commencement*, corresponds with our own method of doing things; but, that a city could, *at first*, contain *a thousand houses*, implies a sort of architectural legerdemain, of which, neither Romulus nor Remus, nor all the mountaineers at their command, were capable. We build very rapidly in *Baltimore*, but our building is nothing compared with that.

“It was near a mile in compass, and commanded a small territory round it, of about eight miles over. However, *small* as it appears, it was, notwithstanding, *worse* inhabited.” Why, I would ask, is the comparative of the word *bad*, used, in describing the relative proportions of the *size* of a *city*, and the *number* of its *inhabitants*?

“The *senate*, which *was* to act as *counsellors* to the King, *was* composed, &c.” Senate, being a noun of multitude, may be taken either as *singular* or *plural*; but, whatever number the writer begins with, must be observed throughout the sentence. In this place, it is taken in the *singular*; being the antecedent to *which*, the nominative to the verb *was*, in the *singular*. But, by what rule of modern syntax, would *counsellors* in the *plural* stand in apposition with *senate* in the *singular*, in this passage? or how can we reconcile the transformation that occurs in the use of the *relative*? at first, it refers to a *legislative*

assembly in the *abstract*; not the *persons* of whom that assembly *was composed*, for, if so, it should be the senate *who*; as *which* cannot, with grammatical accuracy, be applied to *persons*:—in its next agency, however, it becomes a *personal* relative.

“The plebeians, who composed the *third part* of the legislature,” &c. *Third part* gives the idea rather of an *arithmetical third*, or third as to *quantity*; conveying something quite different from the author’s intention; which was an *ordinal* third: as, the king, *first*; the senate, *second*; the plebeians, *third*. I have written it, *third branch* of the legislature.

“After his endeavours, by laws, to regulate his subjects, he next gave orders to ascertain their numbers. The whole amounted but to *three thousand* foot, and *as many hundred* horsemen.” *How many hundred* horsemen, then, were there? I defy all the colleges in the universe to answer the question. They might indeed *guess* at the number; or, by the assistance of a little *reasoning*, say, that there were about *three hundred* horsemen; which is just what the Latin authorities make them.

“By these wise regulations, each day added strength to the new city: multitudes flocked in from all the adjacent towns, and it only seemed to want women *to ascertain its duration*.” A person might, at a slight view, imagine, that the women, who were wanted, were, what the ancients called *soothsayers*; and, what we now vulgarly call *fortune-tellers*; in order to foretel *how long the city would continue*. But, this, as appears in the sequel, is not the meaning, nor any thing near the meaning: the women were required to assist in the increasing of the population; in fact, *women were wanted to confirm its growing prosperity*.

Having now but partially examined *five pages*, and finding that I am likely to run over rather too much paper, by these criticisms, I shall conclude them, by a few general remarks. Throughout the whole work, there is a

violation of language, and a misapplication of terms; which, though not so objectionable, when they were first written, are insufferable at the present day: for instance, adjectives used as adverbs: the words *between*, *both*, and *either*, applied in reference to *three* persons or things. “The *triumviri* agreed to divide the empire *between* them;” “he *disannulled* those laws,” “he gave *free* liberty;” “he *followed* them *into* their *inaccessible* mountains,” and similar expressions, very frequently appear. I have endeavoured to restore the proper names, to that degree of accuracy, with which, I have no doubt, they were originally given; but, from which, by successive copying, they have been made, materially, to deviate; and, in most instances, I have allowed them their *classical* form, when they first occur; continuing, afterwards, the *familiar*, in which way, many names, in the original copy are exclusively written. Occasional translations, also, and explanatory notes, have been added, which may prove useful to the inquisitive reader, who has not had the advantage of a classical education; the punctuation, likewise, has received a considerable share of attention; and, by the transposition of several clauses, I have endeavoured to give the sentences that strength, which the author himself, had he had more leisure, would have much better performed.

Surprising as it may appear, I have heard many glaring infringements of grammatical rules defended, upon the principle, that the proper test of Historical composition is the *Understanding*. If this position were admitted, our Colleges are no longer required, but as the insignia of literary ostentation: the herculean labours of a Johnston, or the critical researches of a Blair, have been made in vain. Is it not possible, I would ask, so to arrange a discourse, that every rule in grammar shall be violated; and yet this miserable jargon may be as intelligible as the finished declamations of Demosthenes?

Baltimore, May 1, 1818.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The original Reviser of this History, sensible that the First Edition would admit of still further improvement, has reviewed it, with much care; and confidently hopes, that the amendments made in the SECOND EDITION, will render the work still more deserving of the extensive introduction, already procured for it, by the former corrections.

Philadelphia, November, 1826.

Library of Congress

1867

City of Washington

* * * *Accompanying this edition, there is a small Book of Historical Questions, for the use of schools; also, for the convenience of Teachers, a Key, containing the Answers.*

THE HISTORY

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Romans.

THE Romans, that they might conceal the meanness of their real ancestry, were particularly desirous of being thought descended from the gods. Æneas, (said by the poets to have been the son of Venus and Anchises,) having escaped from Troy, at the time of the destruction of that city, after many adventures and dangers, arrived in Italy; where he was kindly received by Latinus, the king of the Latins, who gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Turnus, king of the Rutuli, was the first who opposed Æneas, he himself having long made pretensions to Lavinia. A war ensued; in which the Trojan hero was victorious, and Turnus slain. In consequence of this, Æneas built a city, which he called Lavinium, in honour of his wife; but, some time afterwards, having engaged in another war, against Mezentius, one of the petty kings of the country, he was vanquished, and died in battle, after a reign of four years.

Numitor, (the fifteenth king in a direct line from Æneas,) who took possession of the kingdom in consequence of his father's will, had a brother named Amulius; to whom were left the treasures which had been brought from Troy. But, as riches too generally prevail against right, Amulius made use of his wealth to supplant his brother, and soon found means to take possession of the kingdom; adding to the crime of usurpation, that also of murder. The sons of Numitor first fell a sacrifice to his suspicions; and, to remove all apprehensions of his being at any time disturbed in his ill acquired power, he caused Rhea Sylvia, his brother's only daughter, to become a vestal virgin; which office obliging her to observe perpetual chastity, he apprehended little danger from her posterity.

His precautions, however, were all frustrated. Rhea Sylvia, when going for water to a neighbouring grove, was met by a

man, whom, perhaps to palliate her misfortune, she averred was Mars, the god of war.

Two boys were the fruits of this violent intercourse; who were no sooner born, than devoted by the usurper to destruction. The mother was condemned to be buried alive, the usual punishment for vestals who had suffered a violation of their chastity; and the twins were ordered to be thrown into the river Tyber. It happened, at the time this rigorous sentence was executed, that the river had more than usually overflowed its banks; so that the water, into which the children were cast, being at a distance from the main current, was too shallow to drown them. In this situation, therefore, they continued without injury; and, that nothing relative to their preservation might be free from wonder, we are told that they were for some time suckled by a wolf; and that Faustulus, the king's herdsman, finding them thus exposed, carried them to his wife, Acca Laurentia, who brought them up as the children of her husband.

Romulus and Remus, the twins, thus strangely preserved, seemed early to discover abilities and desires above the meanness of their supposed origin. The shepherd's life began to displease them; and, from tending flocks, or hunting wild beasts, they soon turned their strength against the robbers who infested the country; whom they often stripped of their plunder, to share it with their fellow shepherds. In one of these excursions, Remus was taken prisoner, by Numitor's herdsmen, who brought him before Amulius, and accused him of being a robber. Romulus, however, being informed, by Faustulus, of his real birth, assembled a number of his fellow shepherds, and beset the usurper on all sides; who, during his amazement and distraction, was taken and slain; and Numitor, after having been deposed forty-two years, recognized his grandsons, and was restored to the throne.

Numitor being now in quiet possession of the kingdom, his grandsons resolved to build a city, on those hills where they had formerly tended flocks. Many of the neighbouring shepherds, and such also as were fond of change, hastened to the site of the intended city, and prepared to raise it.

In order to proceed in this undertaking with all possible solemnity, the two brothers were advised by the king to take an omen, from the flight of birds; and it was agreed that he, whose omen would be the most favourable, should, in all respects, direct the other. In compliance with this advice, each took his station upon a different hill. To Remus, appeared six vultures; to Romulus, twice that number; so that each

thought himself victorious; the one having had the first omen, the other the most complete. This produced a contest, which proved fatal to Remus; and historians relate that he was killed by his brother, who, being provoked at his leaping contemptuously over the city wall, struck him dead upon the spot.

Romulus, now eighteen years of age, and sole commander
 A. M. persevered in the building of a city, which was, at a
 3252, future day, to give laws to the world. It was called
 ante C. *Roma*, (now *Rome*, by the English,) after the name of
 752. its founder; and built upon the Palatine Hill, where
 he had taken his successful omen. The city was at
 first almost square, containing, shortly after its commence-
 ment, about a thousand houses. It was nearly a mile in com-
 pass, and commanded a small territory around it, of about
 twenty-five miles in circuit. However, small as it appears, it
 was but thinly inhabited; and the first method taken to increase
 its numbers, was the opening of a sanctuary for all malefactors,
 slaves, and such as were desirous of novelty; who came in
 great multitudes, and produced the effect which the new legis-
 lator had intended.

CHAPTER II.

From the Building of Rome, to the Death of Romulus.

SCARCELY was the city raised above its foundation, when its rude inhabitants began to form a Constitution. Romulus, by an act of great generosity, left them at liberty in the choice of their king; and they, through gratitude, concurred in the election of their founder; who was accordingly acknowledged as chief of their religion, sovereign magistrate of Rome, and general of the army. Besides a guard to attend his person, it was determined that he should always be preceded, wherever he went, by another, of twelve men, armed with axes, tied up in a bundle of rods; who were to execute the laws, and impress his new subjects with a high idea of his authority.

The Senate, (intended to be the King's Council,) was composed of one hundred of the principal citizens—men, whose age, wisdom, or valour, gave them a natural authority over their fellow subjects. The king named the first senator; and appointed him to act as governor of the city, during his own absence in war.

The Plebeians, who composed the third branch of the legislature, assumed the power of authorising those laws which were

introduced by the king or the senate: and all things relative to peace or war; to the election of magistrates; and even to the choosing of a king; were confirmed by the votes of their assembly.

The first care of the newly created monarch, was to attend to the interest of religion; but the precise forms of that which they embraced, are now unknown. The principal religion of that age consisted in a firm reliance on the soothsayers, who pretended, from observations on the flight of birds, and the entrails of beasts, to direct the present, and dive into the future. Romulus, by an express law, commanded that no election should be made, no enterprise undertaken, without first consulting them.

Wives were forbidden, upon any pretext whatever, to separate from their husbands; whilst, on the contrary, husbands were empowered to repudiate their wives, and, in some cases, even to put them to death. His laws with respect to children and their parents, were yet more severe: the father had entire power, over both the fortune and the life of his offspring; and could sell or imprison them, at any period, without regard either to their age, or their condition.

His attention was now directed to ascertain the number of his subjects; who were found to amount only to three-thousand foot, and about three-hundred horsemen, capable of bearing arms. These were divided equally into three tribes; and to each he assigned a different part of the city. Each of those tribes was subdivided into ten *curiæ*, or companies, consisting of one-hundred men, having a centurion to command it; a priest called *curio* to perform the sacrifices; and two of the principal inhabitants, under the title of *duumviri*, to distribute justice. These wise regulations contributed daily to increase the strength of the new city; multitudes flocked in from all the adjacent towns, and women only were wanted to confirm its growing prosperity. By the advice of the senate, Romulus sent deputies to the neighbouring Sabines, to entreat their alliance; which would be the means of their obtaining the strictest confederacy with the Romans. The Sabines, who were then considered as the most warlike people of Italy, rejected the proposal with disdain. Romulus then proclaimed, throughout all the neighbouring villages, a feast, in honour of Neptune; for which, he made the most magnificent preparations. These entertainments were generally preceded by sacrifices, and ended in the exhibition of wrestlers, gladiators, and chariot races. The Sabines, as he expected, were amongst the foremost of the

spectators; bringing with them their wives and daughters, to share in the pleasures of the day. But, whilst the strangers were most intent upon the spectacle, a number of Roman youths rushed in among them, with drawn swords; seized the youngest and most beautiful women, and carried them off by violence. In vain, the parents protested against this breach of hospitality—in vain, the young women themselves at first opposed the attempts of those, into whose power they had fallen;—by perseverance and caresses, the betrayers, from being objects of aversion, soon became the partners of their dearest affections.

A sanguinary war ensued. The cities of Cenina, Antemna, and Crustumium, were the first that resolved to revenge the common cause, which the Sabines were too dilatory in espousing. But these, by making separate inroads, were the more easily overthrown by Romulus; who, however, made the most merciful, as well as politic use, of his victories: instead of putting them to the sword, or ordering the destruction of their towns, he placed in them Roman colonies, to form a frontier for the repression of more distant invasions.

Tatius, king of Cures, a Sabine city, was the last, although the most formidable, who undertook to revenge the disgrace which his country had suffered. He entered the Roman territories, at the head of twenty-five thousand men; and, to the advantage he possessed, in having a superiority of numbers, he added that of stratagem. Tarpeia, daughter of him who commanded at the Capitoline Hill, happened to fall into his hands, as she went without the city walls for water; upon whom, he prevailed, by means of large promises, to open one of the gates to his army. The reward for which she engaged, was what the soldiers wore upon their arms; by which, she meant their *bracelets*. They, however, either mistaking her meaning, or intending to punish her perfidy, threw their *bucks* upon her, as they entered, and crushed her to death. The Sabines being thus possessed of the Capitoline Hill, a general engagement shortly afterwards took place; which was renewed for several days, with almost equal success, and neither party would consent to a submission. The last battle that they fought, was in the valley which divides the Capitoline and Quirinal hills. When the engagement had become general, and the slaughter prodigious, the attention of the combatants was suddenly turned from the scene of horror before them.—The Sabine women, who had been carried off by the Romans, regardless of danger, rush, with dishevelled hair, and freed from their ornaments, between the parties, and with loud outcries,

implore their husbands and their children to desist.—The combatants, as if by mutual impulse, let fall their weapons;—an accommodation ensues; by which, it is agreed, that Romulus and Tatius should reign conjointly in Rome, with equal power and prerogative; that one-hundred Sabines should be admitted into the senate; that the city should still retain its name, but that the citizens should be called Quirites, after Cures the principal town of the Sabines; and that the two nations being thus united, those of the latter who might desire it, should be admitted to live in Rome, and enjoy all the privileges of a Roman citizen.

In about five years from this time, Tatius was killed by the Lavinians, for having protected some of his servants, who had plundered them and murdered their ambassadors.

The good fortune of the king produced in him an equal degree of pride. From being contented with swaying the sceptre of a limited monarchy, he now aimed at the acquisition of absolute power; and endeavoured to subvert those very laws, to which he had himself formerly professed implicit obedience. The senate, in particular, were displeased with his conduct; as they found themselves used only as instruments to justify the rigour of his commands. We are not precisely informed of the means which they employed to get rid of the tyrant: some say that he was torn in pieces in the senate-house,—others, that he disappeared when reviewing his army: but, from the secrecy of the fact, and the concealment of the body, they took occasion to persuade the multitude that he was taken up into heaven. Thus, him whom they could not suffer as a king, they were contented to worship as a god.

Romulus reigned thirty-seven years; and, after his death a temple was dedicated to him, under the name of Quirinus.

CHAPTER III.

From the death of Romulus, to the death of Numa Pompilius the second king of Rome.

U. C.* ON the death of Romulus, the people were greatly
38. divided in the choice of a successor. The Sabines wished to have a king chosen from their body; but the Romans could not be prevailed on to advance a stranger to the throne. In this perplexity, the senators undertook to sup-

* U. C. are the initials of two latin words, signifying *from the building of the city*

ply the place of a king, by taking the government, each of them in succession, for five days; and during that time enjoying all the honours, and all the privileges of royalty. This new form continued for a year; but the Plebeians, who saw that this method of transferring power, was only multiplying their masters, insisted on a change. The senate being thus compelled to make an election, nominated Numa Pompilius, a Sabine; who was received by the people with universal approbation.

Numa, now in his fortieth year, had long been eminent for his piety and justice, moderation and exemplary life. He was skilled in all the learning and philosophy of his country; and, contented with a private fortune, he enjoyed at Cures the sweets of domestic retirement, unambitious of higher honours. It was not, therefore, without reluctance that he accepted the dignity; and his compliance produced so much joy, that the people seemed not so much to receive a king, as a kingdom.

No monarch could have been more proper for them, than Numa. At a conjuncture when the kingdom was composed of various petty states, but lately subdued, and not sufficiently united, they wanted a master, who could, by his laws and precepts, soften their fierce dispositions, and by his example, promote a respect for religion, and the several moral virtues.

Numa's whole time was therefore spent in inspiring his subjects with a love of piety, and a veneration for the gods. He built many new temples; instituted sacred offices and feasts; and the sanctity of his life gave him credit enough to persuade his people, that he had a particular correspondence with the goddess Egeria. By her advice, he built the temple of Janus, which was to be shut in time of peace, and open in war; he also ordained vestal virgins, who were four in number, and had very great privileges allowed them.

For the encouragement of agriculture, he divided, amongst the poorer part of the people, the lands which Romulus had gained in war; he also regulated the kalendar, and abolished the distinction between Romans and Sabines, by dividing the citizens according to their several trades, and compelling all the people of each trade to live together. Thus, having reigned forty-three years, in profound peace, and arrived at the age of eighty, he died; having ordered his body to be buried in a stone coffin, contrary to the custom of the times; and his books of ceremonies, consisting of twelve in Latin, and as many in Greek, to be placed, in another, by his side.

CHAPTER IV.

From the death of Numa, to the death of Tullus Hostilius, the third King of Rome.

U. C. 82. ON the death of Numa, the administration once more devolved upon the senate; in whom it continued until the people elected Tullus Hostilius for their king: which choice had the concurrence of the other branch of the government. This monarch was grandson of a noble Roman, who had formerly signalized himself against the Sabines, and in nothing resembled his predecessor; being entirely devoted to war, and fonder of enterprise than even the founder of the empire had been; so that he anxiously sought a pretext for leading his forces into the field.

The Albans were the first who gave him an opportunity of indulging his favourite inclination. The forces of these two states met about five miles from Rome, prepared to decide the fate of their respective kingdoms; for almost every battle in those days was decisive. The two armies were for some time drawn out in array, waiting the signal for battle; both anxious to shorten that dreadful period of suspense, when an unexpected proposal from the Alban general prevented the onset. Stepping in between the armies, he offered the Romans a choice of deciding the dispute by single combat; adding that that side, whose champion was overcome, should submit to the other. Such a proposal suited the impetuous temper of the Roman king, and was eagerly embraced by his subjects; each of whom hoped that he himself might be chosen to decide the cause of his country. There were at this time, in each army, three brothers, of one birth: those of the Romans were called *Horatii*; those of the Albans, *Curiatii*; all six remarkable for their courage, strength, and activity; and to them it was resolved to commit the fate of the two parties.—At length, the champions met in combat, and each, totally regardless of his own safety, only seeks the destruction of his opponent. The spectators, in horrid silence, tremble at every blow, and wish to share the danger:—now, fortune seems to decide the glory of the field;—victory, which had hitherto been doubtful, appears to declare against the Romans; two of their champions lie dead upon the plain, and the three Curiatii, who are wounded, slowly endeavour to pursue the survivor, who seems, by flight, to beg for mercy. Soon, however, they perceive that his flight is only feigned, that he may separate his antagonists, whom

united, he was unable to oppose; for, immediately turning upon him who follows the most closely behind, he lays him dead!—The second brother who comes on to assist, shares the same fate; and now there remains but one of the Curiatii to conquer; who, fatigued, and disabled by his wounds, slowly approaches, to offer an easy victory; and is despatched, almost unresisting. Then the conqueror, exclaiming, offers him as a victim to the superiority of the Romans; to whom, the Alban army now yield obedience.

But none of the virtues of that age were without alloy:—the very hand, which, in the morning, had been exerted to save his country, was, before night, imbrued in the blood of his sister! Returning triumphant from the field, it raised his indignation to behold her bathed in tears, and lamenting the loss of her lover; one of the Curiatii, to whom she was betrothed. This provoked him beyond the power of sufferance, so that he slew her in the heat of passion: an action which greatly displeased the senate, and drew on him the condemnation of the magistrates: but he was pardoned by making his appeal to the people.

Hostilius died after a reign of thirty-two years. His death was, by some, attributed to lightning; but by others, with greater probability, to treason.

CHAPTER V.

From the death of Tullus Hostilius, to the death of Ancus Martius, the fourth King of Rome.

U. C. 115. AN interregnum now ensued, which terminated in the election of Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa; who was chosen king by the people, and approved of by the senate. As this monarch was a lineal descendant of Numa, so he seemed to make him the great object of his imitation. He instituted the sacred ceremonies which were to precede a declaration of war; he took every occasion of recommending to his subjects a return to the pursuits of agriculture, and a cessation from the less useful stratagems of war.

These institutions and precepts were considered by the neighbouring powers, as marks rather of cowardice, than wisdom. The Latins therefore began to make incursions into his territories; but their success was not superior to their justice. They were conquered by Ancus; who destroyed their cities, removed their inhabitants to Rome, and increased his own territories by the addition of a part of theirs. He quelled also an

insurrection of the Veientes, the Fidenates, and the Volsci: and over the Sabines he obtained a second triumph. But his victories over the enemy were of far less importance, than his exertions at home, in raising temples, fortifying the city, making a prison for malefactors, and forming, at the mouth of the Tyber, a sea port, called Ostia; by which, he secured to his subjects the trade of that river, and of the adjacent saltpits. Having thus enriched his subjects, and beautified the city, he died after a reign of twenty-four years.

CHAPTER VI.

From the death of Ancus Martius, to the death of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth King of Rome.

U. C. LUCIUS Tarquinius Priscus, whose original name was
138. Lucumon, was appointed guardian to the sons of the late king. He took the surname of Tarquinius from the city of Tarquinii, where he had last resided. His father was a merchant of Corinth, who had acquired considerable wealth by trade, and had settled in Italy, in consequence of the unpleasant state of affairs at home. His son Lucumon, who inherited his fortune, married a woman of family in Tarquinii; and as his birth, profession, and country, were held in contempt, by the nobles of that place, he came, by the persuasion of his wife, to settle at Rome, where merit only gave distinction. It is said, by the historians, that, on his way thither, as he approached the city gate, an eagle, stooping from above, took off his hat, and flying around his chariot for some time with much noise, replaced it on his head. This, his wife Tanaquil, who, it seems, was skilled in augury, interpreted as a presage *that he should wear a crown*: and it was perhaps this which first fired his ambition to pursue it.

Ancus being dead, and the government as usual devolving upon the senate, Tarquin used all his power and arts to set aside the children of the late king, and to have himself chosen in their place. Accordingly, on the day appointed for election, he contrived to have them removed from the city; and, in a set speech to the people, in which he urged his friendship for them, the fortune he had spent amongst them, and his knowledge of their government, he offered himself for their king. There being nothing in this harangue that could be contested, it had the desired effect; and the people unanimously elected him.

A kingdom, thus gained by intrigue, was, notwithstanding, governed with equity. In the beginning of his reign, in order to recompense his friends, he added one-hundred members to the senate; which increased their number to three hundred.

But his pacific endeavours, were soon interrupted by the inroads of his restless neighbours, particularly the Latins; whom however he defeated, and forced to beg a peace. He then turned his arms against the Sabines, who had again risen, and passed the Tyber; but Tarquin, (as he is named in English works,) attacking them vigorously, routed their army; and many who escaped the sword, were drowned in attempting to recross the river; whilst their bodies and armour floating down to Rome, conveyed the proofs of victory, even before the messengers who were despatched with the account, could arrive. These conquests were followed by several advantages over the Latins; from whom, he took many towns, though without gaining any decisive victory.

Tarquin, having thus forced his enemies into submission, was resolved not to let the people be corrupted by indolence, but undertook and perfected several public works, for the convenience and embellishment of the city.

During his reign, the augurs advanced considerably in reputation, and he found it his interest to promote the superstition of the people, as it served also to increase their obedience.

Tanaquil, his wife, was a great pretender to this art, in which however she was excelled by Accius Nævius, the most celebrated adept that was ever known in Rome. Tarquin, being resolved to try the augur's skill, demanded, whether that, which he was then considering, could be effected. Nævius, having examined his auguries, boldly affirmed that it might: "Why then," cries the king, with an insulting smile, "I had thoughts of cutting this whetstone with a razor!" "Cut boldly" replied the augur; and the king cut it through accordingly. Thenceforward, nothing was undertaken in Rome, without obtaining the advice and approbation of the augurs.

Tarquin was not contented with a kingdom, without also the ensigns of royalty. In imitation of the Lydian monarchs, he assumed a crown of gold, an ivory throne, a sceptre surmounted by an eagle, and robes of purple. It was perhaps the splendour of these royalties that first raised the envy of the late king's sons, who had for thirty-seven years quietly submitted to his government. His design also of adopting for his successor, Servius Tullius, his son-in-law, might have contributed to inflame their resentment. But whatever was 'he

cause of their tardy vengeance, they now resolved to destroy him, and at length found means to effect their purpose, by hiring two ruffians, who, demanding to speak with the king under pretence of seeking justice, struck him dead in his palace, with the blow of an axe. The lictors, however, that attended the king's person, seized the murderers, who were attempting to escape. They were put to death; but the sons of Ancus, who were the instigators, found safety by flight.

Thus fell Lucius Tarquinius, (surnamed Priscus, to distinguish him from one of his successors of the same name,) aged fifty-six years, of which he had reigned thirty-eight.

CHAPTER VII.

From the death of Tarquinius Priscus, to the death of Servius Tullius, the sixth King of Rome.

THE report of the murder of Tarquin filled all his subjects with complaint and indignation; and the citizens ran from every quarter to the palace, to ascertain the truth of the account, or to take vengeance on the assassins. In this tumult, Tanaquil, widow of the late king, knowing the danger she must incur, in case the conspirators should succeed to the crown; and desirous of advancing her son-in-law to the throne; artfully concealed her sorrow, and assured the people, from a window of the palace, that the king was not killed, but stunned by the blow, that he would shortly recover, and that in the mean time he had deputed his power to Servius Tullius, his son-in-law. Servius, accordingly, as it had been previously arranged, issued from the palace, adorned with the ensigns of royalty, and preceded by his lictors, went to despatch some affairs that related to the public safety; still pretending that he took all his instructions from the king. This scene of dissimulation continued until he had confirmed his party amongst the nobles; and then, the death of Tarquin being publicly ascertained, Servius was appointed king, solely by the election of the senate, without having attempted to procure the suffrages of the people.

Servius was the son of a bond-woman, who had been taken at the sacking of a town belonging to the Latins, and was born whilst his mother was a slave. When yet an infant in his cradle, a lambent flame is said to have played around his head; which Tanaquil converted into an omen of his future greatness.

The principal object during his reign was to increase the

power of the senate, by depressing that of the people. The populace, who were unable to see into his designs, conferred upon him an unlimited power in the arrangement of the taxes, and accordingly, as he insisted that they should pay them by centuries, he commanded that they should give their votes also by centuries. In former deliberations, each citizen gave his suffrage singly, and the numbers of the poor always prevailed against the power of the rich; but, by the regulations of Servius, the senate consisted of a greater number of centuries than all the other classes combined; and thus entirely outweighed them, in every contention.

In order to ascertain the increase or diminution of his subjects and their estates, he instituted another regulation, which he called a lustrum. By this, all the citizens were to assemble once every five years, completely armed, and in their respective classes, in the Campus Martius; and there give an exact account of their families and fortunes.

Having thus enjoyed a long reign, occupied in settling the domestic policy of the state, and also not inattentive to foreign concerns, he conceived reasonable hopes of concluding it in tranquillity and ease. He had even thoughts of laying down his power; and, after having formed the kingdom into a republic, of returning into obscurity. But so generous a design was frustrated, before he could put it in execution.

In the beginning of his reign, to secure the throne by every precaution, he had married his two daughters to the two grandsons of Tarquin; and, being aware that the women, as well as their intended husbands, were of entirely opposite dispositions, he resolved to unite her that was ungovernable and proud, with him who was remarkable for a contrary character: by this, he supposed that they would correct each other's failings, and that the mixture would produce concord. The event however proved otherwise. Lucius, his haughty son-in-law, soon grew displeased with the meekness of his partner, and placed his whole affections upon Tullia, his brother's wife; who answered his passion with sympathetic ardour. As their desires were ungovernable, they resolved to break through every restraint that opposed their union; both undertook and effected the murder of their consorts, and were shortly afterwards intermarried. One crime is often productive of another: from the destruction of their consorts, they proceeded to conspiring that of the king. They began by raising factions against him; alleging his illegal title to the crown, which Lucius claimed as his own,

as heir to Tarquin. At length, when he found the senate ripe for seconding his views, he entered the senate-house, adorned with all the insignia of royalty; and, placing himself upon the throne, began to harangue them on the obscurity of the king's birth, and the injustice of his title. Whilst he was yet speaking, Servius entered, attended by a few followers; and, seeing his throne thus rudely invaded, attempted to push the usurper from his seat: but Lucius, being in the vigour of youth, threw the old man down the steps which led to the throne; and some of his adherents, who had been previously instructed, followed the king, as he was feebly attempting to reach the palace, and despatched him; throwing his mangled and bleeding body, as a public spectacle, into the street. In the mean time, Tullia, burning with impatience for the event, was informed of what her husband had done, and resolving to be amongst the first who should salute him as monarch, ordered her chariot to the senate-house: but, as the charioteer approached the place where the body of the old king, her father, lay, exposed and bloody, the man, amazed at the inhuman spectacle, and not wishing to trample upon it with his horses, offered to turn another way. This served only to increase the fierceness of her temper: she threw the footstool at his head, and ordered him to drive over the dead body, without hesitation.

Thus died, Servius Tullius; a prince of eminent justice and moderation; after a useful and prosperous reign of forty-four years.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the death of Servius Tullius, to the banishment of Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and last King of Rome.

U. C. 220. LUCIUS TARQUINIUS afterwards called *Superbus*, (which, in Latin, signifies *proud*,) having placed himself upon the throne, as related in the preceding chapter, was resolved to support his dignity by the same violence by which it had been acquired. Regardless of the approbation either of the senate or the people, he seemed to claim the crown by hereditary right; and refused the late king's body a burial, under the pretence of his having been a usurper. All virtuous people, however, looked upon his accession with detestation and horror; and this last act of inefficient barbarity, served only to confirm their hatred. Conscious of this, he order'd

all those whom he suspected to have been attached to Servius, to be put to death; and, fearing the natural consequences of his tyranny, he increased the guard around his person.

His chief policy seems to have consisted in keeping the people always employed, either in wars or in public works; by which means, he diverted their attention from his illegal method of obtaining the crown.

He first marched against the Sabines, who had refused to pay him obedience, and soon reduced them to submission. He next began a war with the Volsci, which continued for many ages. The city of the Gabii made a determined resistance; and, having ineffectually attempted to reduce it by a siege, he was obliged to resort to stratagem, contrary to the usual practice of the Romans. He caused his son Sextus to counterfeit desertion, under pretence of barbarous usage, and to seek refuge amongst the inhabitants of the place. There, by artful complaints, and studied lamentations, he so engaged the people in his interest, as to be chosen their governor; and soon after, general of their army. He appeared at first, successful in every engagement, and, thus finding himself possessed of the confidence of the state, he sent a trusty messenger to his father, for instructions. Tarquin made no other answer, than by taking the man into the garden, where he cut down before him the tallest poppies. Sextus readily understood this reply; and found means to destroy or remove, one by one, the principal men of the city; still taking care to confiscate their effects, and divide them amongst the people. The charms of these dividends kept the giddy populace blind to their own ruin, until they found themselves, at last, without counsellors or head; and they eventually fell under the power of Tarquin, without even striking a blow. After this, he made a league with the Æqui, and renewed that with the Etrurians.

But whilst he was engaged in war abroad, he took care that the people should not remain in idleness at home. He undertook to build the capitol, the foundation of which had been laid in a former reign; and a singular occurrence contributed to hasten the execution of his design. A woman, in a strange attire, made her appearance at Rome, offering to sell nine books, which she said were of her own composing. Not knowing the abilities of the stranger, or that she was in fact one of the celebrated Sybils, whose prophecies were never supposed to fail, Tarquin refused to buy them. Upon this she departed, and burning three of the books, returned again, demanding the same price for the six remaining. Being again treated as an

impostor, she went away; and having burned three more, returned with the rest, still adhering to the same price. Tarquin, surprised at the inconsistency of her behaviour, consulted the augurs. They blamed him much for not having purchased the *nine*; and commanded him to buy the *three*, at any price for which they could be obtained. The woman, say the historians, after thus selling and delivering these three prophetic volumes, and advising him to give a special attention to what they contained, vanished from before him, and was never afterwards seen. He appointed proper persons to take charge of them: they were originally two, but were afterwards increased to fifteen, under the title of *quindecemviri*. The books were placed in a stone chest, intended to be lodged in a vault of the newly designed building, as the most proper for their safety.

The people, having been for four successive years employed in erecting the capitol, now wished for something new to engage them; wherefore Tarquin, to gratify them, proclaimed war against the Rutuli, (upon a frivolous pretence of their having harboured some malefactors whom he had banished,) and invested Ardea, their chief city, which lay about sixteen miles from Rome.

Whilst the army was encamped before this place, the king's son Sextus, Collatinus, a noble Roman, and some others, sat together in a tent, drinking wine. The discourse happening to turn upon the beauty and virtue of their wives, each man praising his own, Collatinus suggested, as the best way of deciding the dispute, that they should set out that instant for Rome, and ascertain which of them should be found of the greatest beauty, and most sedulously employed, at the time of their arrival. Being heated with wine, the proposal was relished by the whole company; and, having mounted their horses without delay, though the night was far advanced, they galloped off to Rome. There, they found Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, not like other women of her age, spending the time in luxury and ease, but in the midst of her maids, spinning and cheerfully portioning out their tasks. Her modest beauty, and the easy reception which she gave her husband and his friends, so charmed them all, that they unanimously decided in her favour, and Sextus was so much inflamed, that he determined to gratify his passion.

For that purpose, after a few days he left the camp, to visit her privately; and met with the same kind reception as before. His intention not being suspected, Lucretia sat with him at supper, and ordered one of the chambers to be prepared for

him. Midnight was the time chosen by this ruffian, to put his design into execution. Having found means to enter her chamber, he approached her bed side with a drawn sword; and threatened her with instant death, if she offered to resist. Lucretia, thus alarmed in her sleep; though seeing death so near, was yet inexorable; until being told that if she would not yield, he would first kill her, and then, laying his own slave dead by her side, would report that he found and killed them both in a criminal act. The terror of infamy achieved what that of death could not obtain; and the next morning he returned to the camp, exulting in his brutal victory. In the mean time, Lucretia, detesting the light, and resolving not to pardon herself, even for the crime of another, sent for her husband Collatinus, and for Spurius, her father, to come to her; as indelible disgrace had befallen her family. They instantly obeyed the summons, bringing with them Valerius, a kinsman of her father's, and Junius Brutus, a reputed idiot, who had accidentally met the messenger on the way. Their arrival only served to heighten the poignant anguish of Lucretia: they found her in a state of stedfast desperation, and attempted in vain to give her relief. "No," said she, "never shall I find any thing in this world worth living for, after having lost my honour. You see before you, my Collatinus, a polluted wretch; one, whose person has been the spoil of another, but whose affections were never estranged from you. Sextus, under the pretended veil of friendship, has this night forced from me that treasure, which death only can restore;—but if you have the hearts of men, you will avenge my cause, and let posterity know, that she who has lost her virtue, has no consolation but in death." So saying, she drew from beneath her robe, a poignard; and, plunging it into her bosom, expired without a groan! All remained fixed in sorrow, pity, and indignation: Spurius and Collatinus at length gave vent to their grief in tears; but Brutus, drawing the poignard reeking from Lucretia's wound, and raising it towards Heaven, "Be witness ye gods," he cried, "that, from this moment, I proclaim myself the avenger of the chaste Lucretia's cause: from this moment, I profess myself the enemy of Tarquin and his lustful house: henceforth, this life, whilst life continues, shall be employed in opposing tyranny, and promoting the freedom and happiness of my much loved country." A new amazement seized the hearers; to find him, whom they had hitherto considered as an idiot, now appearing in his real character, the friend of justice and of Rome. He told them that tears and lamentations were unmanly, when vengeance

called so loud; and, delivering the poignard to the rest, that oath, which he himself had taken, he imposed upon them.

Junius Brutus was the son of Marcus Junius, a noble Roman, who had been married to the daughter of Tarquinius Priscus. That connexion having created a jealousy, Marcus was put to death by the present king. Brutus had received an excellent education from his father; and had naturally a strong mind, and an inflexible attachment to virtue; but, perceiving that Tarquin had privately murdered his father, and his eldest brother, he passed himself as a fool, in order to escape the same danger; and thence obtained the surname of Brutus. Tarquin, thinking him actually insane, despised the man; and having seized upon his estate, kept him as an idiot in his house, for the amusement of his children.

Brutus, however, only waited a favourable moment for revenge; wherefore, ordering Lucretia's dead body to be brought out, and exposed to view in the public forum, he inflamed the ardour of the citizens, by a display of the horrid transaction. He obtained a decree of the senate, that Tarquin and his family should be forever banished from Rome, and that it should be capital for any to plead for, or aid in his return. This monarch who had now reigned twenty-five years, being thus expelled his kingdom, went to take refuge with his family at Circe, a little city of Etruria. In the mean time, the Roman army made a truce with the enemy, and Brutus was declared the deliverer of the people.



CHAPTER IX.

From the banishment of Tarquin, to the appointment of the first dictator.

U. C. 245. THE regal power having been overthrown, a form of government, nominally republican, was substituted. The senate, however, reserved far the greatest share of authority to themselves; and decorated their own body with all the spoils of deposed monarchy. The centuries of the people chose from among the senators, two annual magistrates, whom they called consuls; with power equal to that of the regal, with the same privileges, and the same ensigns of authority.

Brutus, the deliverer of his country, and Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, were the first consuls chosen in Rome.

But this new republic, which so much gratified the people, was in danger of destruction, in its very commencement.

Some young men of the principal families in the state, who had been educated about the king, and had shared in all the luxuries and pleasures of the court, formed a party in Rome, in favour of Tarquin, and undertook the re-establishment of monarchy. This party secretly increased every day; and, surprising as it may appear, even the sons of Brutus, and the Aquilii, the nephews of Collatinus, were amongst the number. Informed of these intrigues in his favour, Tarquin sent ambassadors from Etruria to Rome, under a pretence of reclaiming the crown; but in reality to give spirit to his faction. However, the whole plot was discovered by a slave, who, unperceived by the conspirators, accidentally remained in the room where they were accustomed to assemble. Few situations could be more awfully affecting than that of Brutus;—a father the judge,—his children the criminals;—their lives at stake! impelled by justice to condemn;—by nature, to spare them! The young men accused, pleaded nothing for themselves; but, with conscious guilt, awaited their sentence, in agony and silence. The other judges, felt all the pangs of nature: Collatinus wept, and Valerius could not repress his sentiments of pity. Brutus, alone, seemed to have lost all the softness of humanity; and, with a stern countenance, and a tone of voice that marked his gloomy resolution, demanded of his sons, whether they could make any defence to the crimes with which they had been charged. This he repeated three several times; but receiving no answer, he at length turned himself to the executioner; “Now,” cried he, “it is your duty to do the rest.” Thus saying, he resumed his seat, with an air of determined majesty; nor could all the sentiments of paternal pity, nor the imploring looks of the people, nor yet the complaints of the young men, who were preparing for execution, alter the tenor of his decree. Being first entirely divested of their dress, and then whipped with rods, they were presently afterwards beheaded; Brutus, all the time, beholding the cruel spectacle with a steady look, and unaltered countenance, whilst the multitude gazed on, with mingled sensations, of pity, terror, and admiration.

All Tarquin’s hopes of an insurrection in his favour being thus overthrown, he now resolved to regain his former throne by foreign assistance, and having prevailed upon the Volscians to assist him, advanced with a considerable army towards Rome.

The consuls made immediate preparations to oppose him. Valerius commanded the foot, and Brutus being appointed to head the cavalry, advanced to meet him on the Roman borders. Aruns, the son of Tarquin, who com-

manded the cavalry for his father, seeing Brutus at a distance, resolved, by one great attempt, to decide the fate of the day, before the engaging of the armies; and, spurring on his horse, made towards him, with ungovernable fury. Brutus, who perceived his approach, singled out from the ranks to meet him; and each being eager only to assail, and thoughtless of defending, they joined with such a shock, that they both fell dead upon the field together. A serious battle ensued, with equal slaughter on both sides; but the Romans, remaining in possession of the field, claimed the victory; and Valerius returned in triumph to Rome.

In the mean time, Tarquin, undaunted by his misfortunes, prevailed upon Porsenna, one of the kings of Etruria, to espouse his cause, and in person to assist him in the contest. This prince, noted equally for courage and abilities, marched with a numerous army directly to Rome, and laid siege to the city, whilst yet the terror of his name and his arms filled all ranks of people with dismay. A furious attack was made on the place: the two consuls opposed in vain, and were carried off wounded from the field; whilst the Romans, flying in great consternation, were pursued by the enemy to the bridge; over which, both victors and vanquished were about to enter the city in confusion. All now appeared lost; when Horatius Cocles, who had been placed there as centinel to defend it, opposed himself to the torrent of the enemy; and, assisted only by two others, for some time sustained the whole fury of the assault, until the bridge was broken down behind him: when, finding the communication thus cut off, he plunged, with his arms, into the torrent of the Tyber, and swam back victorious to his fellow soldiers, who received him with merited applause.

Still, however, Porsenna was determined to take the city; and, though five-hundred of his men were slain in a sally, by the Romans, he reduced it to the utmost extremity; and, turning the siege into a blockade, resolved to subdue it by famine. The distress of the besieged soon became insufferable, and all things seemed to threaten a speedy surrender, when another act of fierce bravery, superior even to that which saved the city before, again procured its safety and its freedom.

Mutius, a youth of undaunted courage, resolved to rid his country of an enemy which so severely continued to oppose it; and, for that purpose, disguised in the habit of an Etrurian peasant, entered the camp of the enemy, intending to kill Porsenna, or perish in the attempt. With this resolution, he advanced to the place where he was paying his troops, with a

secretary by his side; but, mistaking the latter for the king, he stabbed him to the heart, and was immediately apprehended, and brought back into the royal presence. On Porsenna's demanding who he was, and his motive for so heinous an action, Mutius, without reserve, informed him of his country, and his design; and, at the same time, thrusting his right hand into a fire which was burning upon an altar before him, "You see," cried he, "how little I regard the severest punishment your cruelty can inflict. A Roman knows not only how to act, but how to suffer: I am not the only person you have to fear; three hundred Roman youths, like me, have conspired your destruction; therefore, prepare for their attempts." Porsenna, amazed at so much intrepidity, had too noble a mind not to acknowledge merit, even in an enemy; he therefore ordered him to be safely conducted back to Rome, and offered the besieged conditions of peace. These were readily accepted; being neither hard nor disgraceful, except that twenty hostages were demanded: ten young men, and as many virgins of the best families in Rome. Even in this instance, also, the gentler sex were resolved to be sharers in the desperate valour of the times. Clelia, one of the hostages, escaping from the guards, and pointing out the way to the rest of her female companions, swam over the Tyber on horseback, amidst showers of darts from the enemy, and presented herself to the consul. This magistrate, fearing the consequences of detaining her, sent her back; upon which, Porsenna, that he might not be exceeded in generosity, not only released her, but permitted her to choose such of the hostages of the opposite sex, as she might wish to attend her. Clelia, with all the modesty of a Roman virgin, chose only those who were under fourteen; alleging that their tender age was the least capable of sustaining the rigours of slavery.

Aulus Postumius
 Tarquin, by means of his son-in-law Manlius, once more induced the Latins to espouse his interest, and chose the most convenient opportunity, when the plebeians were at variance with the senators, concerning the payment of their debts. They refused to go to war, unless their debts were remitted on their return; so that the consuls, finding their authority insufficient, proposed the election of a temporary magistrate, who should have absolute power, not only over all ranks of the state, but even over the very laws. To this, the plebeians readily assented; willing to give up their own power, for the sake of abridging that of their superiors. In consequence of this, Lartius was created the first dictator, (for so was this high office

called,) being nominated to it by his colleague in the consulship. Thus, the people who could not bear to hear the name of a king even mentioned, readily submitted to a magistrate possessed of much greater power: so much do the names of things mislead us, and so little is the form of a government irksome to a people, when it coincides with their prejudices.

CHAPTER X.

From the creation of the first dictator, to the election of the tribunes of the people.

U. C. 255. LARGIUS, being now created dictator, entered upon his office, surrounded by his lictors, and all the ensigns of ancient royalty; and, seated upon a throne in the midst of the people, ordered the levies to be made in the manner of the kings of Rome. The populace looked with terror upon a magistrate, whom they had invested with uncontrollable power; and each went peaceably to range himself under his respective standard. Having then gone out to oppose the enemy, he returned with his army; and, before his six months were expired, laid down the dictatorship, with the reputation of having exercised it with blameless lenity.

Although, in that instance, the soldiers had submitted, they were resolved, by some means, to free themselves from the yoke of their severe masters; and, as they had no hopes that their grievances would be redressed in Rome, they determined to fly from those whom they could not move to compassion, and to form a new establishment without its limits. Under the conduct of a plebeian, named Sicinius Bellutus, they therefore retired to a mountain, thence called the Mons Sacer, on the banks of the river Anio, within about three miles of Rome.

The news of this defection filled the city with tumult and consternation: those who wished well to the army made frequent attempts to scale the walls, in order to join it. The Senate was not less agitated than the rest: some were for violent measures, and repelling force by force; others were of opinion that gentle means were preferable, and that over such enemies, a victory would be worse than a defeat. At length, therefore, it was resolved to send a messenger, entreating the army to return, and declare their grievances; promising, at the same time, an oblivion of all that had passed.

This message not succeeding, Menenius Agrippa, one of the

wisest and most virtuous of the senators, was of opinion that the demands of the army should be granted.

In conformity with his advice, it was determined to enter into a treaty with the soldiers, and to make them such offers as should induce them to return. Ten commissioners were accordingly deputed; at the head of whom, were Largius and Valerius, who had been dictators, and Menenius Agrippa, beloved equally by the senate and the people. The dignity and the popularity of these ambassadors, procured them a very respectable reception amongst the soldiers; and a long conference commenced. Largius and Valerius employed all their oratory, on the one hand, whilst Sicinius and Lucius Junius, who were the spokesmen of the soldiery, aggravated their distresses, with all that masculine eloquence, which is the child of nature. The conference had continued a considerable time, when Agrippa, a shrewd man, who himself had been originally a plebeian, and consequently knew what kind of eloquence was most likely to please the people, addressed them with that celebrated fable, which is so finely related by Livy. "In times of old, when every part of the human frame could think for itself, and each had a separate will of its own, they all, with common consent, resolved to revolt against the body: they knew no reason, they said, why they should toil from morning till night in its service, whilst the body, in the mean time, lay at its ease in the midst of them all, and indolently grew fat upon their labours: accordingly, one and all, they agreed to befriend it no more. The feet vowed they would carry it no longer; the hands vowed they would feed it no longer; and the teeth averred they would not chew a morsel of meat, though it were placed between them. Thus determined, they all, for some time, showed their spirit, and kept their word; but soon they found, that, instead of mortifying the body by these means, they only destroyed themselves; they languished for a while, and perceived, when too late, that it was owing to the body, that they had strength to work, or courage to mutiny."

This fable, the application of which is obvious, had an instantaneous effect. They unanimously cried out, that Agrippa should lead them back to Rome; and were making preparations to follow him, when Lucius Junius, beforementioned, withheld them; alleging, that though they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind offers of the senate, yet they had no safeguard, for the future, against their resentment; and that it was therefore necessary for the security of the people, to have certain officers created annually from amongst themselves, who

should have power to redress their injuries, and plead the cause of the community.

The people, who are mostly of opinion with the last speaker, highly applauded this proposal, with which the commissioners had not yet the power of complying: they therefore sent to Rome, to take the instruction of the senate. Torn by divisions amongst themselves, and harassed by complaints from without, the senate resolved to have peace, upon any terms; accordingly, as if with one voice, they consented to the creation of the new officers, who were called Tribunes Of The People; Appius alone protesting violently against the measure.

The tribunes of the people were originally five in number; though afterwards they were increased to ten. They were annually elected by the people, and generally chosen from their own body. They at first had their seats placed before the doors of the senate-house, and, being called in, were to examine every decree; annulling it by the word *Veto*; (I forbid it;) or confirming it by signing the letter T. The first tribunes chosen by the suffrages of the people, were Sicinius Bellutus, Lucius Junius, Caius Licinius, Albinus, and Icilius Ruga. The senate also made an edict, confirming the abolition of debts; and now, all things being mutually adjusted, the people, after having sacrificed to the gods of the mountain, (after the manner of the heathens,) returned once more triumphantly to Rome.

CHAPTER XI.

From the creation of the tribunes, to the appointment of the decemviri.

U. C. 260. DURING the late separation, all tillage having been neglected, a famine was the consequence, the ensuing season. The senate used every exertion to remedy the distress; but the people, pinched by want, and willing to throw the blame upon any but themselves, ascribed their present sufferings to the avarice of the Patricians, who, having purchased all the corn, as it was alleged, intended to procure indemnity, by reselling it, for losses sustained from the abolition of the people's debts.

But the arrival of a large quantity of corn again raised their spirits, and produced a temporary reconciliation. A great part of this was sent as a present to the Romans, by Gelon, the king of Sicily, and the rest purchased there, by the senate, with the public money.

At this time, Coriolanus incurred their resentment, by insisting that it should not be distributed until the grievances of the senate were removed; for which proposition, the tribunes summoned him to a trial before the people.

When the appointed day arrived, public expectation had arisen to the greatest height; and a vast concourse from the adjacent country crowded the forum. Coriolanus presented himself before the people, with a degree of intrepidity which merited better fortune. His graceful person, his persuasive eloquence, the cries of those whom he had saved from the enemy, inclined the auditors to relent. But, being unable to answer what was alleged against him, to the satisfaction of the people, and utterly confounded by a new charge, of having embezzled the plunder of Antium, the tribunes immediately took the votes, and Coriolanus was condemned to perpetual exile.

This sentence, against their bravest defender, struck the whole body of the senate with sorrow, consternation, and regret. Coriolanus, alone, in the midst of the tumult, seemed an unconcerned spectator. He returned home, followed by the lamentations of hundreds of the most respectable senators and citizens, to take a lasting leave of his wife and children, and Veturia his mother. Then, recommending his little children to their care, and all to the care of Heaven, he left the city, without followers or fortune, to seek refuge amongst the Volscians, with Tullius Attius, a man of great power, who took him under his protection, and espoused his quarrel.

The first thing to be done, was to induce the Volsci to break the league which had been made with Rome. For this purpose, Tullius sent many of his citizens thither, to see the games at that time celebrating; and, in the mean time, gave the senate private information that the strangers intended to burn the city. This had the desired effect: the senate issued an order that all strangers should depart before sun-set. Tullius represented this to his countrymen as an infraction of the treaty, and procured an embassy to Rome, complaining of the breach, and re-demanding all the territories belonging to the Volscians, of which they had been violently dispossessed. In case of a refusal, war was to be declared: this message was however treated by the senate with contempt.

War having thus commenced, Coriolanus and Tullius were made generals of the Volscian army, and accordingly entered the Roman territories, ravaging and laying waste all lands which belonged to the plebeians, but sparing those which were the property of the senators.

In the mean time, the levies went on but slowly at Rome; the two consuls, who were re-elected by the people, seemed little skilled in war; and even feared to encounter a general, whom they knew to be their superior. The allies also showed a reluctance, and brought in their succours very slowly; so that Coriolanus continued to take their towns, one after another. Fortune favoured him in every expedition, and he was now so famous for his victories, that the Volsci left their towns defenceless, to follow him into the field. The very soldiers of his colleague's army came over to him, and would acknowledge no other general. Thus, finding himself unopposed in the field, and at the head of a numerous army, he at length invested the city of Rome itself, fully resolved to besiege it. Now, the senate and the people unanimously agree to send deputies to him, with proposals of restoration, if he would draw off his army. Coriolanus received them at the head of his principal officers; but, with the sternness of a general that was to give the law, refused their offers.

Another embassy was sent forth, conjuring him not to exact, from his native city, any conditions but what became Romans to grant. Coriolanus, however, naturally inflexible and severe, still persisted in his former demands, and granted them but three days in which to finish their deliberations. In this exigence, the only alternative was another deputation, still more solemn than either of the former; composed of the pontiffs, the priests, and the augurs. These, clothed in their habits of ceremony, and with a grave and mournful deportment, issued from the city, and entered the camp of the conqueror; but all in vain: they found him severe and inflexible as before.

When the people saw them return ineffectually, they gave up the commonwealth as lost. Their temples were filled with old men, with women and children; who, prostrate at the altars, put up their ardent prayers for the preservation of their country. Nothing was to be heard, but anguish and lamentation; nothing to be seen, but terror and distress. At length it was suggested, that what could not be effected by the intercession of the senate, or the adjuration of the priests, might be accomplished by the tears of his wife, or the commands of his mother. This deputation was unanimously approved; and even the very senate gave it the sanction of its authority. But Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, at first hesitated to join in so pious an undertaking; knowing the inflexible temper of her son, and unwilling that his disobedience should be shown, in so new and striking an instance, as disregarding the injunctions of a parent. At

length, however, she consented, and set forward from the city, accompanied by many of the principal matrons of Rome, together with Volumnia his wife, and his two children. Coriolanus, who at a distance discovered this mournful train of females, resolved to give them a denial, and called his officers around him to witness his determination: but, when told that his mother and his wife were amongst the number, he instantly descended from his tribunal, to meet and embrace them. At first, the tears and caresses of the women took away the power of words, and the rough soldier himself, hard as he was, could not refrain from sharing in their distress. Coriolanus now seemed much agitated by contending passions: whilst his mother, who saw him moved, seconded her entreaties by the most persuasive eloquence, her tears; his wife and children hung around him, begging for pity and protection, and the fair train, her companions, added their lamentations; deploring their own misery, and that of their country. Coriolanus, for a moment, was silent, feeling the strong conflict between honour and inclination; then, as if roused from a dream, he flew to raise his parent, who had fallen at his feet, crying out, "O, my mother, thou hast saved Rome, but lost thy son!" He accordingly gave orders to draw off the army; pretending to the officers that the city was too strong to be taken. Tullius, who had long envied his glory, was not remiss in aggravating this lenity towards his countrymen. Upon their return, Coriolanus was slain in an insurrection of the people, and afterwards honourably buried, with late and ineffectual repentance.

Great and many were the public rejoicings at Rome, upon the retreat of the Volscian army; but they were soon after interrupted by the intrigues of Spurius Cassius, who wished to render himself despotic by means of the people. He was brought to trial, convicted of a number of criminal acts tending to alter the constitution, and thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, by the very party whose interests he had endeavoured to promote.

The following year, the two consuls of the preceding, Manlius and Fabius, were cited, by the tribunes, to appear before the people. The Agrarian law, proposed some time before, for dividing the lands of the commonwealth equally amongst the people, was the object invariably pursued; and they were accused of having made unjustifiable delays, in postponing it.

It seems that the Agrarian law was a grant which the senate could not think of conceding to the people. The consuls therefore formed various excuses, until they were once more

obliged to have recourse to a dictator. They fixed upon Quintus Cincinnatus, a man who had for some time given up all views of ambition, and retired to his little farm, where the deputies of the senate found him holding the plough, and dressed in the homely attire of a labouring husbandman. He appeared little elevated by their ceremonial addresses, and the pompous habits which they brought him; and, upon their declaring to him the wishes of the senate, he testified rather a concern that his aid should be required. He naturally preferred the charms of a country retirement, to the fatiguing splendours of office; and only said to his wife, as they were leading him away, "I fear, my Attilia, that for this year, our little fields must remain unsown." Thus, taking a tender leave, he departed for the city, where both parties were strongly inflamed against each other. However, he was resolved not to lean to either side; but, by a strict attention to the interest of his country, instead of courting the confidence of faction, to gain the esteem of all. Thus, by threats and well-timed submission, he prevailed upon the tribunes to postpone their favourite law; and conducted himself so as to be a terror to the multitude, when reluctant to enlist, and their warmest advocate on all occasions, when their conduct was approved. Having now restored to the people that tranquillity which he so much loved himself, he again gave up the splendours of ambition, for the more solid enjoyment of his little farm.

U. C. Cincinnatus had not long retired from office when
295. a fresh exigence of the state occurred: the *Æqui* and the *Volsci*, though always defeated, were still for renewing the war; and made new inroads into the territories of Rome. Minutius, one of the consuls who succeeded Cincinnatus, was sent to oppose them; but, being naturally timid, and more afraid of defeat, than desirous of victory, his army was driven into a defile between two mountains, from which, except through the enemy, there was no egress.

This, however, the *Æqui* had the precaution to fortify; by which means, the Roman army was so hemmed in on every side, that nothing remained but submission, famine, or immediate death. Some knights, who found means of escaping undiscovered through the enemy's camp, were the first that brought the account of this dilemma to Rome. Nothing could now exceed the general consternation: the senate, at first, thought of the other consul; but, not having had sufficient experience of his abilities, they unanimously turned their eyes upon Cincinnatus, and resolved to make him dictator. This great man, the only

person on whom Rome could now place her whole dependence, was found by the messengers of the senate, as before, labouring in his little field, with cheerful industry. He was at first astonished at the ensigns of unbounded power, with which the deputies came to invest him; but still more at the approach of the senate, who left the city to meet him. A dignity so unexpected, had, however, no effect upon the simplicity of his manners, or his integrity; and, being now possessed of absolute power, and called upon to nominate his master of the horse, he chose a poor man, named Tarquinius; one who, like himself, despised riches; when they lead to dishonour. Thus, the saving of a great nation devolved upon a husbandman, taken from the plough, and an obscure centinel, found amongst the lowest ranks of the army. Upon entering the city, the dictator assumed a serene look, and entreated all those capable of bearing arms, to assemble before sun-set in the Campus Martius, (the place where the levies were made,) fully accoutred and provisioned for five days. He put himself at their head; and, marching with great expedition, arrived, before day-light, within view of the enemy. Upon his approach, he ordered the soldiers to raise a loud shout, to apprize the consul's army of the relief which was at hand. The Æqui were not a little amazed, when they saw themselves between two enemies; but still more, when they perceived Cincinnatus making the strongest entrenchments to prevent their escape, and enclosing them, as they had enclosed the consul. To frustrate this, a furious combat ensued; but the Æqui, being attacked on two sides, and unable to resist or fly, begged a cessation of arms. They offered the dictator his own terms: he gave them their lives, but obliged them, in token of servitude, to pass under the yoke. This was formed of two spears, set upright, with another across, in the form of a gallows; beneath which, the vanquished were to march. Their captains and generals, he made prisoners of war; being reserved to adorn his triumph. He gave the plunder of the enemy's camp entirely up to his own soldiers, without reserving any part for himself, or permitting those of the delivered army to have a share. Thus, having rescued a Roman army from inevitable destruction; having defeated a powerful enemy; having taken and fortified their city; and still more, having refused any part of the spoil, he resigned his dictatorship, after having held it only fourteen days. The senate would have enriched him, but he declined their offers, choosing to retire, once more, to his farm and his cottage, contented with temperance and fame.

But this repose from foreign invasion did not lessen the internal tumults of the city. The clamours for the Agrarian law still continued; and were increased by Siccus Dentatus, a plebeian advanced in years, but of a commanding person and military deportment, who came forward to enumerate his hardships and his merits. This old soldier openly extolled the various achievements of his youth: and indeed his merits were an apology for his ostentation. He had, during forty years served his country, in the wars: he had been an officer thirty first, a centurion, and then a tribune: he had fought one hundred-and-twenty battles, in which, by the force of his single arm, he had saved many lives: he had gained fourteen civic, three mural, and eight golden crowns; besides eighty-three chains, sixty bracelets, eighteen gilt spears, and twenty-three horse trappings, whereof nine were for killing the enemy in single combat: moreover, he had received forty-five wounds in front, and none behind. These were his honours: yet, notwithstanding, he had never received any share of those lands which were taken from the enemy, but continued to waste his days in poverty and contempt; whilst others were possessed of those very territories which his valour had won, without any merit to deserve them, or ever having contributed to the conquest. A case of so much hardship had a strong effect upon the multitude; they unanimously demanded that the law might be passed, and that such services should not go unrewarded. It was in vain that some of the senators rose to speak against it: their voices were drowned by the cries of the people. When reason therefore could no longer be heard, passion, as usual, succeeded; and the young patricians running furiously into the throng, broke the balloting urns, and dispersed the multitude which offered to oppose them. For this, they were afterwards fined by the tribunes; but their resolution for the present postponed the Agrarian law.

CHAPTER XII.

From the creation of the Decemviri to the extinction of that office.

U. C. THE commonwealth of Rome, had, for nearly sixty
 302. years, been fluctuating between the contending orders which composed it; until, at length, each side, as if weary, were willing to respire awhile from the mutual assertion of their claims. The citizens, therefore, of every rank, began

now to complain of the arbitrary decisions of their magistrates; and wished to be guided by a written body of laws, which being known, might prevent wrongs, as well as punish them. In this, both the senate and the people concurred, hoping that such laws would put an end to the commotions which so long had harassed the state. It was thereupon agreed, that ambassadors should be sent to the Greek cities in Italy, and to Athens, to select such laws, as by experience had been found the most equitable and useful. For this purpose, three senators, Posthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were appointed, and a convoy of galleys assigned them, corresponding with the majesty of the Roman people. During their absence upon this commission, a dreadful plague depopulated the city, and supplied the interval with other anxiety besides that of wishing their arrival. In about a year, the plague ceased, and the ambassadors returned; bringing home a body of laws, collected from the most civilized states of Greece and Italy. These were afterwards compiled into ten tables, which, with two more that were added, formed that celebrated code called the *Laws of the Twelve Tables*, many fragments of which remain to this day.

Upon the return of the ambassadors, the tribunes had required that a body of men should be chosen, not only to digest their new laws into proper form, but also to give weight to their execution. After long debates, whether this choice should not be partly made from the people, as well as the patricians, it was at last agreed that ten of the principal senators should be elected; whose power continuing for a year, should be equal to that of kings and consuls, and from which there should be no appeal. Those appointed were Appius and Genutius; (who had been elected consuls for the ensuing year;) Posthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, the three ambassadors; Sextus and Romulus, former consuls, with Julius, Veturius, and Horatius, senators of the first consideration. Thus, the whole constitution of the state at once took a new form; and a dreadful experiment was about to be tried, of governing one nation, by laws corresponding with the manners and customs of another.

The decemviri being now invested with absolute power, agreed to take the reins of government alternately; and that each should dispense justice for a day.

These magistrates, for the first year, attended incessantly to business, and their work being finished, it was of course expected that they would resign their office; but having experienced the charms of power, they were unwilling to retire: they therefore pretended that some laws were yet wanting to

complete their design, and intreated the senate to allow them further time; to which, that body assented.

But they soon threw off the mask of moderation; and, regardless of the approbation either of the senate or the people, resolved, against all order, to continue in the decemvirate. A conduct so notorious produced discontents, and these were as sure to promote fresh acts of tyranny. The city was almost deserted by all who had any thing to lose; and the rapacity of the decemvirate was then only discontinued, when they wanted objects on which to exercise it. In this state of slavery, proscription, and mutual distrust, not one citizen was found to strike for his country's freedom. These tyrants continued to rule without control; being constantly guarded, not only by their lictors, but also a numerous crowd of dependants, clients, and even patricians, whom their vices had confederated around them.

In this gloomy situation of the state, the Æqui, and Volsci, (those constant enemies of the Romans,) having resolved to profit by their intestine divisions, undertook their incursions, and advanced within about ten miles of Rome.

But the decemviri, being put in possession of all the military, as well as civil power, divided their army into three parts; one of which continued with Appius in the city, to keep it in awe; the other two were commanded by his colleagues, and were led, one against the Æqui, the other against the Sabines.

The Roman soldiers had now got into a method of punishing the generals whom they disliked, by suffering themselves to be vanquished. This, they now put in practice, and shamefully abandoned their camp upon the approach of the enemy. Never was the news of a victory more joyfully received at Rome, than were the tidings of this defeat. The generals, as is usual, were blamed for the treachery of their men; some demanded that they should be deposed; others cried out for a dictator, to lead the troops to conquest; and amongst the rest, old Siccus Dentatus, the tribune, spoke his sentiments with his usual openness; showing all the defects of their discipline in the camp, and their conduct in the field. Appius, in the mean time, was not remiss in observing the disposition of the people. Dentatus, in particular, was marked out for vengeance, and under pretence of doing him particular honour, he was appointed legate, and put at the head of the supplies, which were sent to reinforce the army. The office of legate was held sacred amongst the Romans, as in it were united the authority of a general, with the reverence due to the priesthood. Den-

tatus, not suspecting his design, went to the camp with alacrity, where he was received by the generals with all the external marks of respect. But they soon found means of indulging their desire of revenge. He was appointed, at the head of a hundred men, to discover a more commodious place for encampment, as he had very candidly assured the commanders that their present situation was badly chosen. The soldiers, however, who composed his escort, were assassins; wretches that had long been ministers of the vengeance of the decemviri, and who engaged to murder him; though with all those apprehensions, which his reputation, (as he was called the Roman Achilles,) might be supposed to inspire. With these designs, they led him into the hollow bosom of a retired mountain, where they began to set upon him from behind. Dentatus, now too late, perceived the treachery of the decemviri, and resolved to sell his life as dearly as he could; he therefore put his back to a rock, and defended himself with the most heroic bravery. Though now grown old, he had still the remains of his former vigour, and killed no less than fifteen, and wounded thirty of the assailants, with his own hand! The assassins, now terrified by his amazing heroism, shower in their javelins at a distance;—he receives them in his shield, with undaunted resolution. The combat, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, is carried on for some time with doubtful success! But his dastardly assailants once more change the mode of attack: they ascend the rock against which he stands, and pour down stones upon him from above. By their united efforts, the old soldier falls;—showing by his death, that his frequent victories were owing, not to fortune, but to his own fortitude and courage. The decemviri pretended to join in the general sorrow for so brave a man, and decreed him a funeral with the highest military honours; but the greatness of their apparent distress, compared with their real hatred, only rendered them still more detestable to the people.

Another transaction, equally atrocious, inspired the citizens with a resolution to break all measures of obedience, and eventually to restore freedom. Appius, who still remained in the city, when sitting on his tribunal to dispense justice, saw a young female of exquisite beauty, about fifteen years of age, passing to one of the public schools, attended by a matron, her nurse. Her charms, heightened by that modest glow, which innocence and virtue lend to nature, caught his attention, and fired his heart. The day following, as she passed, he found her still more beautiful; and his breast still more inflamed.

He therefore resolved to obtain the gratification of his passion, whatever should be the consequence; and soon found means of discovering her name and family. She was called Virginia. Her father was Virginius, a centurion, then with the army in the field. She had been contracted to Icilius, formerly a tribune of the people; who had agreed to marry her, at the end of the present campaign. Appius, at first, resolved to break this match, and to espouse her himself; but the laws of the twelve tables forbade the patricians to intermarry with the plebeians; and he was unwilling to infringe those laws, the enactment of which had been sanctioned by himself. After having in vain tried to corrupt the fidelity of the nurse, he had recourse to another expedient not less guilty. He directed one Claudius, who had long been the minister of his pleasures, to assert that Virginia was his slave; and to refer the cause to his tribunal, for decision. Claudius obeyed his instructions; and, entering the school where Virginia was playing amongst her female companions, he seized upon her as his property, and would have dragged her off by force, but was prevented by the people, who were drawn together by her cries. At length, after the first heat of opposition had subsided, he led the weeping victim to the tribunal of Appius, and there plausibly exposed his pretensions. He asserted that she was born in his house, of a female slave: that she had sold her to the wife of Virginius, who was childless. The truth of this statement, he said, could be proved by many credible witnesses; but, until they could come together, it was but reasonable that the slave should be delivered into his custody, he being, by right, her master. Appius seemed to be struck by the justice of his claim; he observed, that if the reputed father himself were present, he might indeed be willing to delay the delivery of the girl for some time; but that it was not lawful, in the present case, to detain her from her proper master. He therefore adjudged her to Claudius, as his slave; to remain with him until Virginius should be able to prove his paternity. This sentence was received by the multitude with loud clamours and reproaches; the women surrounded the innocent Virginia, wishing to protect her from the effects of so unjust an award; whilst Icilius, her lover, boldly opposed the decree, and obliged Claudius to take refuge under the tribunal of the decemvir. All things now threatened an open insurrection; when Appius, fearing the event, thought proper to suspend his judgment, until the arrival of Virginius, who was then about eleven miles from Rome, with the army. The day following was fixed for the trial; and,

in the mean time, Appius sent orders to the generals, to confine Virginus, as his arrival in town might only serve to kindle sedition amongst the people. The letters were however intercepted, by the centurion's friends, who transmitted him a full relation of the plot against the liberty and the honour of his only daughter. Virginus, upon this, pretending the death of a near relation, obtained permission to leave the camp, and flew to Rome, inspired with indignation and revenge. Accordingly, the next day, to the astonishment of Appius, he appeared before the tribunal, leading his weeping daughter by the hand, both habited in the deepest mourning. Claudius, the accuser, was also there, and began by making his demand. Then Virginus spoke: he represented that his wife had many children; that their births could be well attested; that if he had intentions of adopting the child of another, he would have fixed upon a boy, rather than a girl; that it was notorious to all, that his wife had suckled her own child; and that it was surprising such a claim should now be brought forward, after a lapse of fifteen years. Whilst the father spoke this with a stern air, Virginia stood trembling by, and with looks of persuasive innocence, added weight to his remonstrances. The people seemed entirely convinced of the hardness of his case; when Appius, fearing that what he said might have dangerous effects upon the multitude, interrupted him, under pretence of being sufficiently instructed in the merits of the cause. "My conscience," says he, "obliges me to declare, that I myself am a witness to the truth of the deposition of Claudius. Most of this assembly know that I was left guardian to this youth, and that I was very early apprized of his right to this young woman; but the affairs of the public, and the dissensions of the people, then prevented me doing him justice. However, it is not now too late; and, by the power vested in me for the public good, I adjudge Virginia to be the property of Claudius, the plaintiff. Go, therefore, lictors, disperse the multitude; and make room for a master to take possession of his slave." The lictors, in obedience to his commands, soon drove off the throng which pressed around the tribunal: and now they seized upon Virginia, and were delivering her up into the hands of Claudius, when Virginus, seeing that all was over, seemed to acquiesce in the sentence. He therefore mildly entreated Appius to be permitted to take a last farewell of one whom he had long considered as his child; and thus satisfied, he would return with fresh alacrity to his duty. With this, the decemvir complied; but upon condition, that their endearments should pass

in his presence. Virginius, with the most poignant anguish, took his almost expiring daughter in his arms, for a while supported her head upon his breast, and wiped away the tears that rolled down her lovely face; then, (happening to be near the shops which surrounded the forum,) he snatched up a knife that lay on the shambles, and addressing his daughter; "My dearest—lost child," he cried, "this—this only, can preserve your freedom, and your honour." So saying, he buried the weapon in her breast; and then holding it up, reeking from her wound, "Appius," he exclaimed, "by this blood of innocence, I devote thy head to the infernal gods!" Thus saying, with the bloody knife in his hand, and threatening destruction to all who should oppose him, he ran through the city, wildly calling on the people to strike for freedom, and thence to the camp, to spread the flame of liberty throughout the army.

When arrived there, followed by a number of his friends, he informed the soldiers of what had passed; still holding in his hand the bloody knife. He asked their pardon, and the pardon of the gods, for having committed so rash an action; but ascribed it all to the dreadful necessity of the times. The army, already predisposed, immediately, by shouts, echoed their approbation; and decamping, left their generals behind, to take their station, once more, upon mount Aventine, whither they had retired about forty years before. The other army, which had been opposed to the Sabines, seemed actuated by a similar resentment, and went over in large parties to join them.

Appius, in the mean time, did all he could to quell the disturbances in the city; but, finding the tumult incapable of control, and perceiving that his inveterate enemies, Valerius and Horatius, were the most active in opposition, he at first attempted to find safety by flight. Nevertheless, being encouraged by Oppius, one of his colleagues, he ventured to assemble the senate, and urged the punishment of all deserters. The senate, however, were far from concurring with his desires: they foresaw the dangers and miseries that would most probably fall upon the state, by opposition to an incensed soldiery; they therefore despatched messengers to them, offering to restore their former mode of government. To this proposal, all the people joyfully assented; and the army, gladly acceding, now returned to the city, if not with the ensigns, at least with the pleasure, of a triumphal entry. Appius and Oppius both died by their own hands in prison. The remaining eight decemvirs went into voluntary exile; and Claudius, the pretended master of Virginia, was driven after them.

In the meantime, these intestine tumults produced weakness within the state, and confidence in the enemy abroad. The wars with the *Æqui* and the *Volsci* still continued; and, as each year gave the enemy some trifling advantages over the Romans, they at last advanced so far, as to make their incursions to the very walls of the city.

U. C. 309. But not the courage only of the Romans seemed diminished by these conquests. but their other virtues also; particularly their justice. About this time, the inhabitants of two neighbouring cities, *Ardea* and *Aricia*, had a contest between themselves, respecting some lands which had long been claimed by both; and, being unable to agree, they referred it to the senate and the people of Rome. The senate had yet some of the principles of primitive justice remaining, and felt it their duty, as the case stood, to allow it to remain undecided. But the people readily undertook the matter; and one *Scaptius*, an old man, declaring that these very lands belonged of right to Rome, they immediately voted themselves to be the legal proprietors, and sent home the foreign litigants, fully convinced of their own folly, and of the Roman injustice.

The tribunes now grew more turbulent: they proposed two laws; one to permit the plebeians to intermarry with patricians: the other to qualify them to be admitted to the consulship. The senators received this proposal with indignation, and seemed resolved to undergo the utmost extremity, rather than submit to their enactment. However, finding that their resistance only increased the commotions of the state, they at last agreed to pass the law relating to marriages; hoping that this concession would satisfy the people. They were, however, to be appeased but for a very short time; for, returning to their old custom of refusing to enlist on the approach of an enemy, the consuls were obliged to hold a private conference with the chief of the senate, when, after many debates *Claudius* proposed an expedient, as the most probable means of satisfying them in the present conjuncture. This was, to create six or eight governors, in the room of consuls; of whom, one half, at least, should be patricians. This project, which was in fact granting what the people demanded, pleased the whole meeting; and it was agreed that at the next public assembling of the senate, the consuls should, contrary to their usual custom, begin by asking the opinion of the youngest senator. Upon their meeting, one of the tribunes accused them of holding

secret conferences, and of dangerous designs against the people. The consuls, on the other hand, averred their innocence; and, to demonstrate their sincerity, gave any of the younger members of the house leave to deliver their opinions. These remaining silent, such of the senior senators as were known to be popular, began by observing, that the people ought to be indulged in their request: that none so well deserved power as those who were the most instrumental in gaining it; and that the city could not be free, until all were reduced to perfect equality. Claudius spoke next, and broke out into bitter invectives against the people; asserting that it was his opinion, that the law should not pass. This produced some disturbance amongst the plebeians; at length, Genutius proposed, (which had been preconcerted,) that six governors should be annually chosen, with consular authority; three from the senate, and three from the people; and that, at the expiration of their term of magistracy, then it might be determined whether they would have the same office continued, or whether the consulship should be established upon its former footing. This project was eagerly embraced by the people; yet so fickle were the multitude, that though many of the plebeians stood candidates, the choice fell exclusively upon the patricians. These new magistrates were called Military Tribunes: they were at first only three, afterwards they were increased to four, and at length to six. They had the power and ensigns of consuls; yet that power being divided amongst a number, each, singly, was of less authority. The first that were chosen continued in office only about three months; the augurs having discovered some informality in the ceremonies of their election.

The military tribunes being deposed, the consuls once more came into office; and, in order to lighten the weight of business which they were obliged to sustain, a new department was formed; that of Censors; to be chosen every fifth year. Their duty was to estimate the number and estates of the people, and to distribute them into their proper classes; to inspect the morals and manners of their fellow citizens; to degrade senators for misconduct; to dismount knights; and, in case of misdemeanor, to reduce the plebeians into an inferior tribe. The first censors were Papirius and Sempronius, both patricians; and from this order they continued to be elected for nearly one-hundred years.

This new creation served to restore harmony amongst them;

and a triumph gained over the Volscians, by Geganius the consul, added to the universal satisfaction which reigned amongst the people.

U. C. This calm, however, was only of short continuance.
313. Sometime after, a famine pressing hard upon the poor, the usual complaints against the rich were renewed; which, as before, proving ineffectual, produced new seditions. The consuls were accused of neglect, in not having provided sufficient quantities of corn: they, however, disregarded the murmurs of the populace; contented with exerting all their care in attempts to supply the pressing necessities. But, though they did all that could be expected from active magistrates, in collecting provisions, and distributing them amongst the poor, yet Spurius Mælius, a rich knight who had purchased up all the corn of Tuscany, far outshone them in liberality. This demagogue, inflamed with a desire of becoming powerful by the contentions in the state, daily distributed corn in great quantities amongst the poorer sort; until his house became the asylum of all who wished to exchange a life of labour, for one of lazy dependence. When he had thus gained a sufficient number of partisans, he procured large quantities of arms to be brought into his house, by night; and formed a conspiracy, by which he was to obtain the command; whilst some of the tribunes, whom he had found means to corrupt, were to act under him, in seizing upon the liberties of his country. Minucius soon discovered the plot; and, informing the senate, they immediately determined to create a dictator, who should have the power of quelling the conspiracy, without appealing to the people. Cincinnatus, who was now eighty years old, was chosen once more to rescue his country from impending ruin. He began by summoning Mælius to appear; who refused to obey. He next sent Ahala, the master of his horse, to compel him; who, meeting Mælius in the forum, and pressing him to go to the dictator's tribunal, on his refusal, killed him on the spot. The dictator applauded the resolution of his officer; and commanded the conspirator's goods to be sold, his house to be demolished, and his stores of corn to be distributed amongst the people.

The tribunes of the people were much enraged at the death of Mælius; and, in order to punish the senate at the next election, instead of consuls, they insisted upon restoring their military tribunes; with which demand, the senate were obliged to comply.

U. C. 315. The next year, however, the consuls were re-established, and the government assumed its ancient form.

The people of Veii had long been rivaling those of Rome. They had always taken the opportunity of its internal distresses, to ravage its territories; and had even threatened with outrage the ambassadors, sent to complain of these injuries. It seemed now, therefore, determined that the city of Veii, whatever it might cost, should fall; and the Romans accordingly sat regularly down before it, prepared for a long and painful resistance. The strength of the place may be inferred from the length of the siege, it having continued for ten years; during which time, the army remained encamped around the walls. In winter, they lay in tents, made of the skins of beasts; and in summer drove on the operations of attack. Various, was the success, and many were the commanders that directed the siege; sometimes, all the works of the besiegers were destroyed, and numbers of their men cut off, by sallies from the town; sometimes, they were annoyed by an army of Veians, who attempted to bring assistance from without. A siege so destructive threatened even Rome itself with depopulation, by draining its forces continually away. In order to carry it on with greater vigour, Furius Camillus was created dictator, and to him was entrusted the sole power of managing the long protracted war. Camillus, who, without intrigue, or any solicitation, had raised himself to the first eminence in the state, had been chosen one of the censors some time before; of which office he was considered as the head. Being afterwards made a military tribune, he, in that post, had gained several advantages over the enemy; and it was owing to his great courage and abilities in those situations, that he was deemed the most eligible to serve his country on this pressing occasion. On his appointment, numbers of the people flocked to his standard, confident of success under so experienced a commander. Conscious, however, that he was unable to take the city by storm, he secretly, and with vast labour, wrought into it a mine, which opened through the midst of the citadel. Certain thus of success, and finding the city incapable of relief, he sent to the senate, desiring that all who wished to share in the plunder of Veii, should immediately repair to the army. Then, giving his men directions how to enter at the breach, the city was instantly filled with his legions, to the amazement and consternation of the besieged, who, but a moment before, had rested in perfect security. Thus, like a second Troy, was the city of

Veii taken, after a ten years siege, and, with its spoils, enriched the conquerors; whilst Camillus himself, transported by the honour of having subdued the rival of his native city, triumphed after the manner of the kings of Rome. His chariot was drawn by four milk-white horses; a distinction which did not fail to disgust the majority of the spectators; for they considered those as sacred, and more proper for doing honour to their gods, than their generals.

His usual good fortune attended Camillus in another expedition, against the Falisci: he routed their army, and besieged their capital city, Falerii, which threatened a long and vigorous resistance. The reduction of this little place, would have been scarcely worth mentioning, in this scanty page, were it not for an action of the Roman general, which has done him more credit with posterity, than all his triumphs united. A person who superintended the education of the children belonging to the principal men of the city, having found means to decoy his pupils into the Roman camp, offered to put them into the hands of Camillus, as the surest means of inducing the citizens to a speedy surrender. The general was struck with the treachery of this wretch, whose duty it was to protect innocence, not to betray it: he for some time regarded the traitor with a stern air, but at last finding words, "Execrable villain," cried the noble Roman, "offer thy abominable proposals to creatures like thyself, but not to me; what, though we are the enemies of your city, yet there are natural ties that bind all mankind, which should never be broken: there are duties required from us in war, as well as in peace; we fight not against helpless children, but against men; men, who have used us ill indeed, yet whose crimes are virtues, when compared with thine. Against such base arts, let it be my duty to use only Roman arts—the arts of valour and of arms." So saying, he ordered him to be stripped, his hands tied behind him, and, in that ignominious manner, to be whipped into the town, by his own scholars. This generous behaviour of Camillus, effected more than his arms: the magistrates immediately submitted to the senate, leaving to Camillus the conditions of their surrender; who only fined them a sum of money, to satisfy his army. He then received them under the protection, and into the alliance of Rome.

Notwithstanding the veneration which the virtues of Camillus had excited abroad, they seemed but little adapted to gain the respect of the turbulent tribunes at home, as they every day raised some fresh accusation against him. To the charge of

being an opposer of their intended migration from Rome to Veii, they added that of his having concealed a part of the plunder of that city, particularly two brazen gates, for his own use; and appointed him a day, on which to appear before the people. Camillus, finding the multitude exasperated against him, on many accounts, and detesting their ingratitude, resolved not to wait the ignominy of a trial; but, embracing his wife and children, prepared to depart from Rome. He had already passed as far as one of the gates, unattended on his way, and unlamented. There, he could no longer suppress his indignation; but, turning his face to the capitol, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he entreated all the gods that his country might one day be sensible of their injustice and ingratitude; and, so saying, he travelled on, to take refuge in a town, at a little distance, called Ardea. Here, he afterwards learned, that he had been fined fifteen hundred asses, by the tribunes at home.

The tribunes were not a little pleased with their triumph over this great man; but they soon had reason to repent of their injustice, and to wish for the assistance of one, who only, was able to save their country from ruin. For now, an enemy more terrible, and more formidable, than the Romans had ever yet encountered, began to make their appearance. The Gauls, a barbarous nation, had, about two centuries before, made an irruption from beyond the Alps, and settled in the northern parts of Italy. They were fond of emigration, and had been invited over by the delicious quality of the wines, and the softness of the climate. Wherever they came, they dispossessed the original inhabitants; being men of superior courage, extraordinary stature, fierce in aspect, and barbarous in their manners. A body of these, wild from their original habitations, were now, under the conduct of Brennus, their king besieging Clusium, a city of Etruria. The inhabitants of that city, alarmed by their numbers, and still more by their savage appearance, entreated the assistance, or at least the mediation, of the Romans. The senate, who had long made it a maxim never to refuse succour to the distressed, were willing previously to send ambassadors to the Gauls, to dissuade them from their enterprise, and show the injustice of their irruption. Accordingly, three young senators, of the family of the Fabii, who seemed better fitted for the field than the cabinet, were appointed to the embassy. Brennus received them with a degree of complaisance which evinced little of the barbarian; and, desiring to know their business, was answered, according to their instructions, that it was not customary in Italy to make

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war, but on just grounds of provocation; and that they wished to know, what offence the citizens of Clusium had given to the king of the Gauls. To this, Brennus sternly replied, that the rights of valiant men lay in their swords; that the Romans themselves had no other right to the many cities they had conquered; and that he had particular reasons of resentment against the people of Clusium, as they had refused to part with those lands, which they had neither hands to till, nor inhabitants to occupy. The Roman ambassadors, who were little used to hear the language of a conqueror, for a while dissembled their indignation at this haughty reply; but, on entering the besieged city, forgetful of their sacred characters, instead of acting as ambassadors, they headed the citizens in a sally against the besiegers. In this combat, Fabius Ambustus killed a Gaul with his own hand, but was discovered whilst despoiling him of his armour. A conduct, so unjust and unbecoming, excited the resentment of Brennus; who, having made his complaint to the senate by a herald, and finding no redress, immediately broke up the siege, and, with his conquering army, marched directly to Rome. The countries, through which the Gauls passed in their rapid progress, gave up all hopes of safety; being terrified at their vast numbers, their natural fierceness, and dreadful preparations for war. But the rage and impetuosity of this wild people were directed only against Rome. They passed on, without doing the least injury in their march, still breathing vengeance only against the Romans: and a terrible engagement soon ensued, near the river Allia, in which the latter were defeated, with the loss of nearly forty thousand men.

Rome, thus deprived of all succour, prepared for every extremity. One part of the inhabitants endeavoured to hide themselves in the neighbouring towns: the other resolved to await the conqueror's fury, and end their lives with the ruin of their native city. But, more particularly, the ancient senators and priests, struck with a religious enthusiasm on this occasion, resolved to devote their lives, to atone for the crimes of the people, and, habited in their robes of ceremony, placed themselves in the forum, on their ivory chairs. The Gauls, in the mean time, were giving a loose to their triumph, in sharing and enjoying the plunder of their enemy's camp. Had they immediately marched to Rome on gaining the victory, the capitol itself would have fallen; but they continued two days feasting on the field of battle, and with barbarous pleasure, exulting amidst their slaughtered enemies. On the third day after the

victory, (the easiness of which much amazed the Gauls,) Brennus appeared, with all his forces, before the city. He was at first much surprised to find the gates wide open to receive him, and the walls defenceless, and began to impute the unguarded situation of the place, to a stratagem of the Romans. After proper precautions, he entered; and, marching into the forum, there beheld the ancient senators sitting in their order, observing a profound silence, unmoved and undaunted. The splendid habits, the majestic gravity, and the venerable looks, of these old men, who, in their time, had all borne the highest offices of the state, awed the barbarous enemy into reverence: they took them to be the tutelar deities of the place, and began to offer them blind adoration; until one, more forward than the rest, put forth his hand, to stroke the beard of Papyrius: this insult, the noble Roman could not endure, and lifting up his ivory sceptre, he struck the savage to the ground. This seemed as a signal for general slaughter. Papyrius fell first, and all the rest shared his fate, without mercy or distinction. The fierce invaders thus pursued their slaughter for three days successively, sparing neither sex nor age; and then, setting fire to the city, burned every house to the ground.

U. C. All the hopes of Rome were now placed in the capi-
 364. tol: every thing without that fortress, was but an extensive scene of misery, desolation, and despair. Brennus, with threats, first summoned it to surrender; but in vain: he then resolved to besiege it in form, and hemmed it round with his army. Nevertheless, the Romans repelled his attempts with great bravery: despair had supplied them with that perseverance and vigour, which they seemed to want in prosperity.

In the mean while, Brennus carried on the siege with great ardour; hoping, in time, to starve the garrison into a capitulation: but they, sensible of his intention, although they were in actual want, caused several loaves to be thrown into his camp, to convince him of the futility of such expectations. His hopes, failing in this, were soon after revived; as some of his soldiers came to inform him, that they had discovered footsteps which led up to the rock; by following which, they supposed the capitol might be surprised. Accordingly, a chosen body of men were ordered, by night, upon this dangerous service; which they with great difficulty and labour almost effected. They are now on the very wall!—the Roman centinel is fast asleep! the dogs within give no signal, and all things promise an instant victory! But, by the gabbling of some sacred geese, which had been

kept in the temple of Juno, the garrison are roused! The besieged soon perceive the imminence of their danger, and each, snatching the weapon he can soonest find, flies to oppose the assailants. Manlius, a patrician of acknowledged bravery, is the first who exerts all his strength, and inspires courage by his example. He boldly mounts the rampart, and, at one effort, throws two Gauls headlong down the precipice: others soon come to his assistance, and the walls are cleared of the enemy, in a space of time shorter than that employed in the recital.

From this forward, the hopes of the barbarians began to decline, and Brennus wished for an opportunity of raising the siege with credit. His soldiers had frequent conferences with the besieged, whilst on duty; and proposals for an accommodation were desired by the common men, before the chiefs thought of conferring. At length, the commanders on both sides came to an agreement, that the Gauls, immediately on being paid one-thousand pounds weight of gold, should quit the city and territories of Rome. This agreement being confirmed, on each side, by oath, the gold was brought forth: but, upon weighing it, the Gauls fraudulently attempted to kick the beam; of which, the Romans complaining, Brennus insultingly cast his sword and belt into the scale, crying out, that the only portion of the vanquished was to suffer. By this reply, the Romans saw that they were at the victor's mercy, and knew that it was in vain to expostulate against any conditions which he should be pleased to impose. But, in this very juncture, and whilst thus debating upon the payment, they learned that Camillus, their old general, was at the head of a large army, hastening to their relief, and then entering the gates of Rome. Camillus actually appeared soon after; and, having reached the place of controversy, with the air of one who was resolved not to suffer imposition, demanded the cause of the contest. Being informed of it, he ordered the gold to be carried back to the capitol; "For it has always been," cried he, "the manner of us Romans, to ransom our country, not with gold, but with iron: it is I alone that am to make peace, as being the dictator of Rome; and my sword only shall purchase it." Upon this, a battle ensued, in which the Gauls were entirely routed; and so great a slaughter followed, that the Roman territories were soon cleared of their formidable invaders.

All the city, except the capitol, being one continued heap of ruins, and the greater number of its former inhabitants having gone to take refuge in Veii, the tribunes of the people urged for the removal of the poor remains of Rome to that city, where

they might have houses to shelter, and walls to defend them. On this occasion, Camillus, by all the arts of persuasion, attempted to appease them; observing, that it was unworthy of them, both as Romans, and as men, to desert the venerable seats of their ancestors, where they had been encouraged by repeated marks of divine approbation, to remove to, and inhabit a city which they had conquered, and which wanted even the good fortune of defending itself. By these, and similar remonstrances, he prevailed upon the people to go contentedly to work; and Rome soon began to rise from its ashes.

We have already seen the bravery of Manlius, in defending the capitol, and saving the last remains of Rome. For this, the people were by no means ungrateful; having built him a house, near the place where his valour was so conspicuous, and appointed him a public fund for his support. But he aspired at being not only equal to Camillus, but also sovereign of Rome. With this view, he laboured to ingratiate himself with the populace, paid their debts, and railed at the patricians, whom he called their oppressors. The senate was not ignorant of his discourses or his designs, and, with a view of curbing his ambition, created Cornelius Cossus, dictator. He soon finished his expedition against the Volscians, by a victory; and upon his return, called Manlius to account for his conduct. Manlius, however, was too much the darling of the people, to be affected by the power of Cossus, who was obliged to lay down his office; and the former was carried from his confinement, in triumph through the city. This success served only to inflame his ambition. He now began to talk of a division of the lands amongst the people; insinuated that there should be no distinctions in the state; and, to give weight to his discourses, always appeared at the head of a large body of the dregs of the populace, whom his largesses had made his followers. The city being thus filled with sedition and clamour, the senate had recourse to another expedient; which was to oppose the power of Camillus to that of the demagogue. Camillus, accordingly, being made one of the military tribunes, appointed Manlius a day, to answer for his life. The place in which he was tried was near the capitol, to which, when he was accused of sedition, and aspiring at sovereignty, he turned his eyes, and pointing thither, put them in mind of what he had there done for his country. The multitude, whose compassion, or whose justice, seldom springs from rational motives, refused to condemn him whilst he pleaded in sight of the capitol; but when he was brought thence to the Peteline grove, and where the capitol

was no longer to be seen, they sentenced him to be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. Thus, the place which had been the theatre of his glory, became that of his punishment and infamy. His house, in which the conspiracies had been carried on, was ordered to be razed to the ground, and his family were forbidden ever after to assume the name of Manlius.

In this manner, the Romans went gradually forward, with a mixture of turbulence and superstition within their walls, and successful enterprises without. With what implicit obedience, they submitted to their pontiffs, we have already seen, in many instances; and how far they might be impelled, even to encounter death itself at their command, will evidently appear from the behaviour of Curtius, about this time. This heroic man, on the opening of a gulf in the forum, which the augurs affirmed would never close up, until the most precious things in Rome were thrown into it, leaped with his horse and armour boldly into the midst, crying out, that nothing was more truly valuable than patriotism and military virtue. The gulf, say the historians, closed immediately, and Curtius was seen no more.

CHAPTER XIII.

Including the wars with the Samnites, and the wars with Pyrrhus.

THE Romans having now triumphed over the Sabines, the Etrurians, the Latins, the Hernici, the Æqui, and the Volsci, began to look for greater conquests. They accordingly turned their arms against the Samnites, a people about a hundred miles east of the city, who were descended from the Sabines, and inhabited a large tract of southern Italy, which, at this day, makes a considerable part of the kingdom of Naples. Valerius Corvus and Cornelius were the two consuls, to whose care it first fell to manage this dreadful contention between the rival states.

Valerius was one of the greatest commanders of his time: he was surnamed Corvus from a strange circumstance of having been assisted by a crow in a single combat, in which he fought and killed a Gaul of gigantic stature. To his colleague's care, was consigned the leading of an army to Samnium, the enemy's capital; whilst Corvus was sent to relieve Capua, the capital of the Campanians. Never was a captain more fitted for the command. To a habit, naturally robust and athletic,

he joined the gentlest manners: he was the fiercest, and yet the best tempered man, in the army; and, though the lowest centinel was his companion, no man kept the soldiery more strictly to their duty: but, what completes his character, is, that he constantly endeavoured to preserve his dignities by the same arts by which he gained them. Such soldiers as the Romans then were, hardened by their late adversity, and led on by such a general, were invincible. The Samnites were the bravest men they had ever yet encountered; and the contention between the two nations was carried on, by both sides, with the most determined resolution. But the fortune of Rome prevailed: the Samnites at length fled; averring that they were unable to withstand the fierce looks and fire-darting eyes of the Roman general. The other consul was not at first so successful. Having rashly led his army into a defile, he was in danger of being cut off, had not Decius, a tribune of the army, taken possession of a hill, which commanded the enemy; so that the Samnites, being attacked on all sides, were defeated with great slaughter; no less than thirty-thousand of them being left dead on the field of battle.

Sometime after this victory, the soldiers who were stationed at Capua, having mutinied, forced Quintius, an old and eminent soldier who was then residing in the country, to be their leader; and, conducted by their rage, rather than by their general, came within eight miles of the city. So terrible an enemy, almost at their gates, not a little alarmed the senate, who immediately created Valerius Corvus, dictator, and sent him forth, with another army, to oppose them. The two armies were now drawn up against each other; whilst fathers and sons beheld themselves prepared to engage in opposite causes. Any other general than Corvus, would perhaps have brought this civil war to an extremity: but he, knowing his influence with the soldiery, instead of going forward to meet the mutineers in a hostile manner, went, with the most cordial friendship, to embrace and expostulate with his old acquaintances. His conduct had the desired effect. Quintius, as their speaker, only desired to have the defection from their duty forgiven; but, as for himself, being innocent of the conspiracy, he had committed no offence, he said, for which to solicit pardon. Thus, this insubordination, which at first placed the city in so much danger, was repaired by the prudence and moderation of a general, whose ambition was, to be gentle to his friends, and formidable only to his enemies.

• A war between the Romans and the Latins followed soon

afterwards; but, as their clothing, their arms, and their^l that guage were alike, the most exact discipline was necessary, ^{by} prevent confusion in the engagement. Orders were therefore issued by Manlius, the consul, that no soldier, upon any provocation whatever, should leave his ranks; and that he who would offer to disobey, should be put to death. These injunctions being given, both armies were drawn out in array, and ready to begin; when Metius, the general of the enemy's cavalry, advanced from his lines, and challenged any knight in the Roman army, to single combat. For some time, there was a general pause; no soldier daring to disobey his orders: then, Titus Manlius, the consul's own son, burning with shame to see the whole body of the Romans intimidated, boldly singled out against his adversary. The soldiers, on both sides, for a while suspended the general engagement, to be spectators of this fierce encounter. The two champions drove their horses against each other with great violence: Metius wounded his adversary's in the neck; but Manlius, with better fortune, killed the horse of Metius. The Latin, having thus fallen to the ground, attempted to support himself upon his shield; but the Roman repeated his blows, with so much force, that, as he was endeavouring to rise, he laid him dead: then, despoiling him of his armour, he returned in triumph to the tent of the consul, his father, who was there preparing and giving orders relative to the engagement. Notwithstanding the applause which was given him by his fellow soldiers, being as yet doubtful of the reception he might find from his father, he came with hesitation to lay the enemy's spoils at his feet; and, with a modest air, insinuated, that what he had done was entirely from a spirit of hereditary virtue. But he was soon made dreadfully sensible of his error, when his father, turning away, ordered him to be led publicly forth before the army; where, the consul, with a stern countenance, and yet with tears, spoke as follows. "Titus Manlius, as thou hast regarded neither the dignity of the consulship, nor the command of thy father; as thou hast destroyed military discipline, and set a pattern of disobedience by thy example, thou hast reduced me to the deplorable extremity of sacrificing my son, or my country: but let us not hesitate, in this dreadful alternative; a thousand lives would be well lost, in such a cause; nor do I think that thou thyself wilt refuse to die, when thy country is to reap the advantage of thy sufferings: Go, lictor, bind him; and let his death be our future example." The whole army were struck with horror at this unnatural mandate: fear for a while kept them in suspense;

he joined them when they saw their young champion's head struck off, and his blood streaming on the ground, they could no longer contain their execrations, and their groans. His dead body was conveyed without the camp, and, being adorned with the spoils of the vanquished enemy, was buried with all the pomp of military distress.

In the mean time, the battle joined with mutual fury; and, as the two armies had often fought under the same leaders, they combated with all the animosity of civil war. The Latins depended chiefly on their bodily strength: the Romans, on their invincible courage and conduct. Forces so nearly matched, seemed only to require the protection of their deities, to turn the scale of victory; and the augurs had foretold that the commander of that part of the Roman army which might be distressed, should devote himself for his country, and die as a sacrifice to the immortal gods. Manlius commanded the right wing, and Decius the left. The courage of both sides being equal, they fought for some time with equal success; but eventually, the left wing of the Roman army began to give way. Then, Decius, its commander, resolved to devote himself for his country, and to offer his own life, to save his army. Thus determined, he called out in a loud voice to Manlius, who was the chief pontiff, demanding instructions how he should devote himself, and the form of the words he should use. By his directions, therefore, clothed in a long robe, his head covered, and his arms stretched forward, standing upon a javelin, he devoted himself to the celestial and infernal gods, for the safety of Rome. Then, arming himself, and mounting on horseback, he drove furiously into the midst of the enemy, carrying terror and consternation wherever he came, until he fell covered with wounds. In the mean time, the Roman army considered his devoting himself in this manner, as an assurance of success; nor was the superstition of the Latins less powerfully influenced by his resolution: a total rout began to ensue; the Romans pressed them on every side, and so great was the carnage, that scarcely a fourth part of the enemy survived the defeat. This was the last battle of importance, fought between the Latins and the Romans: they were forced to beg a peace, on hard conditions; and, two years afterwards, their strongest city, Pædum, being taken, they were brought under an entire submission to the Roman power.

U. C. A signal disgrace, suffered by the Romans about this
431. time, in their contests with the Samnites; interrupted their usual good fortune, and, for a while, turned the

scale in favour of the enemy. The senate having denied that people a peace, Pontius, their general, was resolved to gain by stratagem, what he had frequently attempted by force. Accordingly, leading his army into a defile, called Claudium, and taking possession of all its outlets, he sent ten of his men, habited as shepherds, with directions to throw themselves in the way of the Romans. Exactly to his wish, the Roman consul met them; and, supposing them to be what they appeared, demanded the route taken by the Samnite army. They, with seeming indifference, replied, that they were gone to Luceria, a town in Apulia, which they were then besieging. The Roman general, not having the least idea of the stratagem, marched on, by the shortest road, through the defiles, to relieve the city; unconscious of his danger, until he saw his army surrounded by the enemy. Pontius, thus having the Romans entirely in his power, obliged their army to pass under the yoke; they having been previously stripped of all but their garments: he then stipulated that they should entirely evacuate the territories of the Samnites, and that they should in future observe the terms of the former confederacy. The Romans were constrained to submit to this ignominious treaty, and marched into Capua, disarmed, almost without clothing, and burning with a desire of retrieving their lost honour. When the army arrived at Rome, all were extremely afflicted at their shameful return: the whole city was put into mourning, and nothing could be seen but grief and resentment.

But this calamity was only transitory. The state had suffered a diminution of its glory, though not of its power. The war was carried on as usual for many years: the strength of the Samnites every day declining, whilst that of the Romans gained a fresh accession from every victory. Under the conduct of Papyrius Cursor, who was at different times consul and dictator, they gained repeated triumphs. Fabius Maximus, also, had a share in the glory of conquering them; and Decius, the son of that Decius whom we saw devoting himself for his country about forty years before, followed the example of his noble father, and, rushing into the midst of the enemy, saved the lives of his countrymen, by the loss of his own.

The Samnites were driven to extreme distress. Unable to defend themselves, they were obliged to call in the assistance of a foreign power; and had recourse to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to save them from impending ruin. Pyrrhus, a man of great power, courage, and ambition, having always retained the example of his great predecessor, Alexander, promised to

go to their assistance. In the mean time, he despatched over a body of three thousand men, under the command of Cineas, an experienced soldier, and a scholar of the great orator, Demosthenes. Nor did he himself long remain behind, but soon after embarked with three-thousand horse, twenty-thousand foot, and twenty elephants, in which, the commanders of that time began to place very great confidence. However, only a small part of these great preparations arrived with him in Italy: many of his ships were dispersed, and some totally lost, in a tempest. On his reaching Tarentum, his first care was to reform the people whom he had come to succour. Observing a total dissolution of manners in this city, and that the inhabitants were occupied more with the pleasures of bathing, feasting, and dancing, than in preparations for war, he gave orders to have all their places of public entertainment shut up, and to restrain them from all those amusements which render soldiers unfit for battle. The Romans did all that prudence could suggest, to oppose so formidable an enemy; and the consul Lævinus was sent, with a numerous army, to interrupt his progress. Pyrrhus, though his whole force had not yet arrived, drew out to meet him; but previously, sent an ambassador, desiring permission to mediate between the Romans and the people of Tarentum. To this, Lævinus returned an answer, saying, that he neither esteemed him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy; and then, leading the ambassador through the Roman camp, requested him to observe diligently what he saw, and report the result to his master. In consequence of this, both armies approached, and pitched their tents in sight of each other, upon opposite banks of the river *Tyris*. Pyrrhus was always extremely careful in directing the situation of his own camp, and observing that of the enemy. When walking along the banks of the river, and surveying the Roman method of encamping, he was heard to observe, "These barbarians seem to be in no way barbarous; and I shall too soon find their actions equal to their resolution." In the mean time, ordering a body of men along the banks, he placed them in readiness to oppose the Romans, in case they attempted to ford the river, before all his forces were collected. The event justified his expectations. The consul, with an impetuosity that marked his inexperience, gave orders for passing the river, where it was fordable; and the advanced guard, having in vain attempted to oppose him, was obliged to retire to the main body. Pyrrhus, being apprized of the enemy's attempt, at first hoped to cut off their cavalry, before they could be reinforced by the foot, which

had not as yet passed over; and, in person, led on a chosen body of horse against them. The Roman legions having with much difficulty crossed over, the engagement became general. The Greeks fought with a consciousness of their former fame; the Romans, with a desire of gaining fresh glory. The combat was long in suspense: the Romans had seven times repulsed the enemy, and were themselves as often driven back; but, at length, whilst the success seemed doubtful, Pyrrhus sent his elephants into the midst of the engagement, and these turned the scale of victory in his favour. ^AThe Romans, who had never before seen creatures of so great magnitude, were terrified, not only by their intrepid fierceness, but also by the castles, filled with armed men, built upon their backs. Then, Pyrrhus saw that the day was his own; and, sending in his Thessalian cavalry, to charge the disordered enemy, the rout became general. ^{AA}A dreadful slaughter of the Romans ensued: fifteen-thousand men were killed on the spot, and eighteen-hundred taken prisoners. Nor were the conquerors in a much better state, than the vanquished; Pyrrhus himself being wounded, and thirteen-thousand of his forces slain. The approach of night, put a stop to the slaughter, on both sides, and Pyrrhus was heard to cry out, that one such victory more would ruin his whole army. The next day, as he was surveying the field of battle, he could not help regarding with admiration, the bodies of the Romans who were slain. On seeing them all with their wounds before, their countenances, even in death, marked with a noble resolution and a sternness that awed him into respect, he was heard to exclaim, in the true spirit of a military adventurer, "O, with what ease could I conquer the world, had I the Romans for soldiers, or had they me for their king!"

Mankind had never before seen two armies so different in discipline, opposed to each other; nor is it, ^{even to this day} determined, whether the Greek phalanx or the Roman legion was preferable.

Pyrrhus, after this victory, was still unwilling to drive them to an extremity; and, considering that it is easier to treat with an enemy when humbled, he resolved to send his friend Cineas, the orator, to negotiate a peace. He often asserted that he had gained more towns by the eloquence of Cineas, than by his own arms: however, with all his art, he was incapable of seducing the Romans, either by bribery, or by private or public persuasion.

Being frustrated in his expectations, he returned to his

master, extolling both the virtues and the grandeur of the Romans. The senate, he said, appeared a reverend assembly of demi-gods; and the city, a temple for their reception. Of this, Pyrrhus soon afterwards became sensible, by an embassy from Rome, concerning the ransom and exchange of prisoners. At the head of this venerable deputation, was Fabricius, an ancient senator, who had long been a pattern to his countrymen, of extreme poverty, united with the most cheerful content. Pyrrhus received this old man with great kindness; and, wishing to ascertain the correctness of report, offered him rich presents, which, however, the Roman refused. The next day, he was desirous of trying his temper also, and ordered one of his elephants to be placed behind the tapestry; which, upon a given signal, raised its trunk above the ambassador's head, at the same time using other tricks to intimidate him. But Fabricius, with a countenance unaltered, smiled upon the king; observing, that he was as indifferent to the terrors of that day, as to the allurements of the preceding. Pyrrhus, pleased to find so much virtue in one he had considered as a barbarian, was willing to grant him the only favour which he knew would make him happy: he released the Roman prisoners, entrusting them to Fabricius alone; on his promise, that, if the senate were determined to continue the war, he might reclaim them whenever he should think proper.

U. C. By this time, the Roman army had recovered from
474. its late defeat; and Sulpicius and Decius, the consuls for the following year, were placed at its head. The panic, hitherto caused by the elephants, now began to subside; and both armies met near the city of Asculum; nearly equal in number, each being about forty-thousand strong. But now again, after a long and obstinate battle, the Grecian discipline prevailed. The Romans, being pressed on every side, particularly by the elephants, were obliged to retire to the camp, leaving six-thousand men dead upon the field. But the enemy had no great reason to boast of their triumph, as they had four-thousand killed; so that Pyrrhus replied to one of his soldiers, who was congratulating him on the victory, "Another victory like this, and I am undone."

This battle ended the campaign.

The next season commenced with equal vigour, on both sides; Pyrrhus having received reinforcements from home. Whilst the two armies were approaching, and at only a small distance from each other, a letter was brought to old Fabricius, the Roman general, from the king's physician; importing that

for a proper reward, he would take him off by poison, and thus rid the Romans of a formidable enemy, and a dangerous war. At this proposal, Fabricius felt all that honest indignation which was consistent with his character: he communicated it to his colleague, and instantly gave it as his opinion, that Pyrrhus should be informed of so treacherous a design. Accordingly, letters were despatched for that purpose, informing him of the affair, and alluding to the unfortunate choice of his friends and his enemies; in having trusted and promoted murderers, whilst he carried his resentment against the generous and brave. Pyrrhus, now concluding that those bold barbarians, (as he called them,) were gradually taught refinement, and that they would not suffer him to be their superior, even in generosity, received their message, with as much amazement at their candour, as indignation at his physician's treachery. "Admirable Fabricius!" cried he, "it would be as easy to turn the sun from his course, as thee from the paths of honour." Then, making the proper enquiry amongst his servants, and being convinced of the treason, he ordered his physician to be executed. However, not to be outdone in magnanimity, he immediately released all his prisoners, without ransom, and desired to negotiate a peace. The Romans, on the other hand, refused to treat, except on the same conditions which they had before offered.

After an interval of two years, Pyrrhus, having increased his army by new levies, sent one division to oppose the march of Lentulus, the Roman consul; whilst he himself marched to attack Curius Dentatus, the other in command, before his colleague could arrive.

His principal aim was to surprise the enemy by night; but, unfortunately, passing through woods, and his lights failing him, his men lost their way; so that, on the approach of morning, he found himself in sight of the Roman camp, with the enemy drawn out ready to receive him. The vanguard of both armies soon met, and the Romans had the advantage. Soon afterwards a general engagement ensued, and Pyrrhus, seeing the balance of victory still inclining against him, had, more, recourse to his elephants. But the Romans were too well acquainted with these animals, to feel from them unnecessary terror; and, having found that fire was the most effectual means of repelling them, they made a quantity of balls, composed of flax and iron, which were thrown against them, as they approached the ranks. The elephants, rendered furious by the flame, and as boldly opposed by the soldiers,

could no longer be brought on; but ran back upon their own army, bearing down the ranks, and spreading general terror and confusion. Thus, victory at length declared in favour of Rome. Pyrrhus in vain attempted to stop the flight and slaughter of his troops. He lost not only twenty-three thousand of his best soldiers, but also his camp. This served as a new lesson to the Romans, who were always open to improvement. They had formerly pitched their tents without order; but by the present capture, they were taught to measure their ground, and fortify it by a trench; so that many of their succeeding victories are to be ascribed to their improved method of encamping.

Pyrrhus, now finding all his hopes fruitless, resolved to leave Italy, where he found only desperate enemies, and faithless allies: accordingly, calling together the Tarentines, he informed them that he had received from Greece assurance of speedy assistance; and desired them to wait the event with tranquillity. The night following, he embarked his troops, and returned undisturbed into his native kingdom, with the remains of his shattered forces; leaving in Tarentum a garrison, merely for appearance.

In this manner, ended the war with Pyrrhus, after six years continuance.

The poor luxurious Tarentines, the original promoters of this war, soon found a worse enemy in the garrison left for their defence, than in the Romans who attacked them without. The hatred between them and Milo, who commanded their citadel for Pyrrhus, had become so great, that nothing could equal it, except the fear of their inveterate enemies, the Romans. In this distress, they applied to the Carthaginians, who, with a large fleet came and blocked up the port of Tarentum; so that this unfortunate people, once famous throughout Italy for their pleasures and refinements, now saw themselves contended for by three different enemies, without even the choice of a conqueror. At length, the Romans found means to bring over the garrison to their interest; after which, they easily became masters of the city, and demolished its walls, granting the inhabitants liberty and protection.

CHAPTER XIV.

The First Punic war, when the Romans first went out of Italy, and began to grow powerful by sea.

U. C. 489. THE Romans, having destroyed all rival pretensions at home, were now eager to extend their conquests into foreign countries. The Carthaginians were at that time in possession of the greatest part of Sicily; and, like the Romans, only wanted an opportunity of embroiling the natives, in order to become masters of the whole island. The opportunity at length offered. Hiero, king of Syracuse, a Sicilian state as yet unconquered, having entreated aid from the Carthaginians, against the Mamertines, a petty nation of the same country; they sent him supplies, both by sea and land. The Mamertines, on their part, to shield off impending danger, put themselves under the protection of Rome. The Romans, despising them as allies, instead of professing to assist them, boldly declared war against Carthage; alleging, as a reason, the assistance lately sent by that city to the southern parts of Italy, against Rome. In this manner, a war was declared between these two powerful states, both grown too great to remain patient spectators of each other's increase.

Carthage, a Phœnician colony, was built on the coast of Africa, (near the place where Tunis now stands,) about one-hundred-and-thirty-seven years before the foundation of Rome. As it had been gradually rising into power, so it had extended its dominion all along the coast. But its chief strength consisted in its fleets and its commerce. Thus circumstanced, these two great powers began the first of what are called the Punic wars: the Carthaginians, possessed of gold and silver, which might be exhausted; the Romans, famous for perseverance, patriotism, and poverty, which appeared to gather strength from every defeat.

But there seemed an insurmountable obstacle to the ambition of Rome. She had no fleet: at least, no naval force which deserved that title; whilst Carthage was sovereign of the sea, and kept all other maritime towns in obedience. In such a situation, any people, except the Romans, would have remained contented, under disadvantages which nature seemed to have imposed: but nothing could conquer or intimidate them. They now applied themselves to maritime affairs; and, though without shipwrights to build, or seamen to navigate a fleet, they re-

solved to surmount every obstacle with inflexible perseverance. A Carthaginian vessel which happened, in a storm, to be driven ashore, was sufficient for a model. The consul Duillius was the first who went to sea with his newly constructed armament; and, though far inferior to the enemy in the management of his fleet, yet he gained the first naval victory; the Carthaginians losing fifty of their ships, and, what they valued more, the undisturbed sovereignty of the sea.

But the conquest of Sicily was to be effected only by humbling the power of Carthage, at home. Accordingly, the senate resolved to carry the war into Africa itself; and, for that purpose, deputed Regulus and Manlius, with a fleet of three-hundred sail. Regulus was esteemed the most consummate warrior that Rome could then produce, and was a professed example of frugal severity. His patriotism was still greater than his temperance: in him, all the private passions seemed extinguished, or concentrated in one great ruling affection, the love of his country. The two generals set sail with one-hundred-and-forty-thousand men, in a fleet which was the greatest that ever had left an Italian port. They were met by the enemy, with a fleet as powerful, and men more inured to the sea. Whilst the fight continued at a distance, rather between the ships than the men, the Carthaginians seemed successful; but when the Romans came to grapple with them, the difference was apparent, between a mercenary army, and one that fought for fame. The resolution of the Romans was triumphant; fifty-four of the enemy's vessels were taken, and the rest of the fleet dispersed. The consequence of this victory, was, an immediate descent upon the coast of Africa, the capture of the city of Clupea, and twenty-thousand men who were made prisoners of war.

The senate, being informed of these great successes, and applied to for fresh instructions, recalled Manlius to Italy, in order to superintend the Sicilian war; and directed Regulus to continue in Africa, and there prosecute his victories.

A battle ensued, in which the Carthaginians were once more defeated, and some of their best troops cut off. This fresh misfortune contributed to throw them into the utmost despair: more than eighty of their towns submitted to the Romans. In this distress, being destitute of generals at home, they were obliged to send to Lacedæmon, offering the command of their army to Xantippus, a general of great experience, who undertook to conduct them.

Xantippus began by giving the magistrates proper instructions

for levying the men. He assured them, that their armies were hitherto overthrown, not by the strength of the enemy, but by the ignorance of their own generals; he therefore only required a ready obedience to his orders, and promised them an easy victory. By the exhortations of a single stranger, the whole city seemed once more revived from despondency; and from hope, soon acquired confidence. This was the spirit which the Grecian general wished to excite; and when he saw them thus ripe for the engagement, he joyfully took the field. The Lacedæmonian made the most skilful disposition of his forces: he placed his cavalry in the wings; he stationed elephants at proper intervals behind the line of the heavy armed infantry; and, bringing up the light armed troops in front, he ordered them to retire through the line of infantry, after they had discharged their weapons. At length, both armies having engaged, the Romans, after a long and obstinate resistance, were overthrown with dreadful slaughter; the greatest part of their army being destroyed, and Regulus himself taken prisoner. Several other disasters soon afterwards followed: they lost their fleet in a storm; and Agrigentum, their principal town in Sicily, was taken by the Carthaginian general, Carthalo. They undertook to build a new fleet, which shared the fate of the former. The mariners, as yet unacquainted with the Mediterranean shores, having driven it upon quicksands, the greater part of it perished in a storm.

The Carthaginians, now successful, were again desirous of treating for peace; hoping to have better terms, than those insisted on by Regulus. For this purpose, they supposed, that he whom they had, during four years, kept chained in a dungeon, would be a proper solicitor. It was expected, that, being wearied with imprisonment and bondage, he would gladly endeavour to persuade his countrymen to discontinue a war, which prolonged his captivity. He was accordingly sent, with their ambassadors, to Rome; a promise having previously been exacted from him, that he would return, in case of being unsuccessful. He was even given to understand, that his life depended on the issue of the negotiation.

When this old general, with the ambassadors of Carthage, approached Rome, numbers of his friends came out to meet and congratulate him on his return. Their acclamations resounded through the city; but Regulus, with settled melancholy, refused to enter the gates. In vain, was he entreated, on every side, to visit, once more, his little dwelling, and share in that joy which his return had inspired: he persisted in say-

ing, that he was now only a slave belonging to the Carthaginians, and unfit to partake of the liberal honours of his country. The senate having assembled outside of the walls, as usual, to give audience to the ambassadors, Regulus opened his commission, as he had been directed by the Carthaginian council; and their ambassadors seconded his proposals. The senate themselves were by this time weary of a war, which had been protracted above eight years; and had no aversion to a peace. It only remained for Regulus himself to give his opinion; who, when it came to his turn, gave his voice for continuing the war. So unexpected an advice not a little disturbed the senate: they pitied, as well as admired a man, who had used so much eloquence against his private interest, and they would not conclude upon a measure which was to terminate in his ruin. But he soon relieved their embarrassment, by breaking off the treaty, and rising to return to his bonds and confinement. It was in vain that the senate and his dearest friends, entreated him to stay: he still opposed their solicitations. Marcia, his wife, and his little children, filled the city with their lamentations, and in vain entreated permission to see him: he still obstinately persisted in adhering to his promise; and though sufficiently apprized of the tortures which awaited his return, without embracing his family, or taking leave of his friends, he departed, with the ambassadors, for Carthage.

Nothing could equal the fury and disappointment of the Carthaginians, when informed, by their ambassadors, that Regulus, instead of advocating a peace, had given his opinion for continuing the war. They accordingly prepared to inflict upon him, the severest tortures. First, his eyelids were cut off, and then he was remanded to prison. After some days, he was again brought out, and exposed with his face turned towards the burning sun. At last, when malice was fatigued with studying all the arts of torture, he was placed in a barrel, driven full of nails, pointing inwards; and in this painful situation he continued, until he died.

Both sides now took up arms, with more than former animosity. At length, the perseverance of the Romans was crowned with success: one victory succeeded another. Their naval superiority was again displayed, in the defeat of a large squadron of the enemy. In that battle, Fabius Buteo, the consul, had the command; but Lutatius Catulus gained a victory, still more complete; having captured, according to the smallest computation, one-hundred-and-twenty ships; by which, the maritime power of Carthage seemed totally destroyed. This

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loss induced the Carthaginians to sue for peace; which Rome thought proper to grant: but, still inflexible in her demands, she exacted the same conditions which Regulus had formerly offered at the gates of Carthage. These were, that they should pay a thousand talents of silver, then, to defray the charges of the war; and should give, in ten years, two-thousand-two-hundred more: that they should evacuate Sicily, and the adjacent islands: that they should never make war against the allies of Rome, or enter with any vessels of war within the U. C. Roman waters; and lastly, that they should deliver up
513. all their prisoners and deserters, without ransom. To these hard conditions, the Carthaginians, now exhausted, readily subscribed; and thus ended the first Punic war, which had lasted twenty-four years, and in some measure had drained both nations of every resource to begin another.

CHAPTER XV.

From the end of the first Punic war, to the end of the second.

A PROFOUND peace, between the Carthaginians and the Romans now ensued, and in about six years afterwards, the Temple of Janus was shut; being the second time since the foundation of the city. The Romans, thus in friendship with all nations, had an opportunity of cultivating the arts of peace: they now began to have a relish for poetry, which, in every civilized nation, is the first liberal art that rises, and the first also that decays. Hitherto, they had been entertained only by the rude challenges of their lowest buffoons: they had sports called Fescennian, in which a few debauched actors made their own parts; whilst buffery and obscenity supplied the place of humour. To these succeeded a composition of a higher kind, called satire; which was a species of dramatic poem, in which the characters of the great were particularly pointed at, and made objects of derision to the vulgar. After these, came tragedy and comedy, which were borrowed from the Greek; indeed, the first dramatic poet of Rome, whose name was Livius Andronicus, was by birth a Grecian. The instant these
514. finer kinds of composition appeared, the higher orders rejected the former impurities, with disdain. / Thenceforward, the Romans laboured after the Grecian model; and, though they were never able to rival their masters, in dramatic

composition, they soon surpassed them in many of the more soothing kinds of poetry. • Elegiac, pastoral, and didactic composition, began to assume new beauties in the Roman language; and satire, not that rude sort of dialogue already mentioned, but a nobler kind invented by Lucilius, was all their own. •

Whilst they were thus improving the arts of peace, they were not negligent in those of war: all intervals of ease seemed rather to give fresh vigour for new designs, than to relax their former intrepidity. The Illyrians, after some continuance of U. C. peace, were the first upon whom they tried their strength. That nation, which had long plundered the merchants of the Mediterranean with impunity, happened to commit depredations upon some of the trading subjects of Rome. A complaint being made to Tenua, their queen, she, instead of granting redress, ordered the ambassador who was sent to demand restitution, to be murdered. A war ensued, in which the Romans were victorious; most of the Illyric towns were surrendered to the consuls, and a peace was concluded, by which the greatest part of the country was ceded to Rome; a yearly tribute was exacted for the rest, and a prohibition added, that the Illyrians should not sail beyond the river Lissus with more than two barks, at one time, and those unarmed.

The Gauls were the next who incurred the displeasure of the Romans. Supposing a time of peace, when the armies were disbanded, a proper season for new irruptions, that barbarous people invited fresh forces from beyond the Alps, and, entering Etruria, wasted all with fire and sword, until they came within about three days journey of Rome. A prætor and a consul were sent to oppose them; and, being now instructed in the improved arts of war, they were enabled to surround the Gauls, who still retained their primitive barbarity. It was in vain that these hardy troops, who had nothing but their courage to protect them, formed two fronts to repel their adversaries; their naked and undisciplined forces were unable to withstand the shock of an enemy completely armed, and skilled in military evolutions. A miserable slaughter ensued, in which forty-thousand were killed: ten-thousand were also made prisoners. This victory was followed by another, gained over them by Marcellus; in which, he killed Veridomarus, their king, with his own hand, and acquired the third royal spoils that had yet been obtained by the Romans. These conquests forced the Gauls to beg a peace, the conditions of which served greatly

to enrich the empire. The Romans were now invariably successful; and, having totally recovered their former losses, they only wanted an enemy, worthy of their arms, to provoke another war.

The Carthaginians had made peace, only because they were no longer able to continue the war. They therefore took the earliest opportunity of breaking the treaty: they besieged Saguntum, a city of Spain, which was in alliance with Rome; and, though requested to desist, prosecuted their operations with vigour. Ambassadors were consequently despatched from Rome to Carthage, complaining of this infraction, and requiring that Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, who had advised the measure, should be delivered up; which being refused, both sides prepared for a second Punic war.

The Carthaginians, on their side, intrusted the management to Hannibal, the son of Amilcar. This extraordinary man, almost in his infancy was made to swear perpetual enmity to Rome; for, whilst yet very young, his father brought him before the altar, and obliged him to take an oath, that he never would be in friendship with the Romans, nor desist from opposing their power, until he or they should be no more. On his first appearance in the field, he displayed, in his own person, the most correct method of commanding, with the most perfect obedience to his superiors. Thus, he was equally beloved by his generals, and the troops he was appointed to lead. He possessed the greatest courage in opposing danger, and the greatest presence of mind in retiring from it. No fatigue was able to subdue his body, nor any misfortune to break his spirit: equally patient of heat and cold, he took sustenance only to appease nature, and not to delight his appetite. He was the best horseman, and the swiftest runner of his time.

This great general, who is considered the most skilful of antiquity, having over-run all Spain, and levied a large army of various languages and nations, resolved to carry the war into Italy itself, as the Romans had before carried it into the dominions of Carthage. For this purpose, leaving Hanno with a sufficient force to guard his conquests in Spain, he crossed the Pyrenean mountains, and entered Gaul, with an army of fifty-thousand foot, and nine-thousand horse. He quickly traversed that extensive country, which was then wild, and filled with nations that were his declared enemies. In vain, its forests and rivers appeared to intimidate him: in vain, the Rhone, with its rapid current, and its banks covered with enemies, or the Dura, branched out into innumerable channels,

opposed his way; by perseverance, he surmounted all, and in ten days arrived at the foot of the Alps, over which a new passage into Italy was to be explored. It was in the midst of winter, that this most astonishing project was undertaken; which season added new horror to a scene already crowded, by nature, with objects of dismay. The prodigious height, and tremendous steepness of the mountains capped with snow; the people, barbarous and fierce, dressed in skins with long and rugged hair, presented a picture which impressed the beholders with astonishment and terror. But nothing could subdue the courage of the Carthaginian general: at the end of fifteen days, spent in crossing the Alps, he found himself in the plains of Italy. But only half his army remained; the rest having died by cold, or having been cut off by the natives.

As soon as it was known by the Romans, that Hannibal, at the head of an immense army, was crossing the Alps in order to invade their dominions, the senate sent Scipio to oppose him. He, however, was obliged to retreat, with considerable loss. In the mean time, the victorious Hannibal took the most prudent precautions to increase his army. He gave orders always to spare the possessions of the Gauls, but permission to plunder those of Rome; which so pleased that simple people, that they declared for him in great numbers, and flocked to his standard with alacrity.

The second battle was fought upon the banks of the river Trebia. The Carthaginian general, having been apprized of the Roman impetuosity, (of which he availed himself in almost every engagement,) had sent across the river a body of a thousand horsemen, each with a foot soldier behind, to ravage the territory of the Romans, and provoke them to engage. This force quickly retired before the Romans; and, seeming to be defeated, plunged into the river, eagerly pursued by Sempronius, the consul. It was not, however, until his army arrived on the opposite bank, that he perceived himself already almost conquered; his men being fatigued with wading up to the arm-pits, and quite benumbed by the intense coldness of the water. A total rout ensued: twenty-six thousand of the Romans were destroyed; being killed by the enemy, or drowned in attempting to repass the river. Ten-thousand men were all that survived; who, finding themselves enclosed on every side, broke desperately through the enemy's ranks, and fought retreating, until they found shelter in the city of Placentia.

The third defeat the Romans sustained, was at the lake of Trasymenus. Near this, was a chain of mountains; and

between these and the lake, a narrow passage leading to a valley, embosomed in hills. It was upon these hills, that Hannibal disposed his best troops; and it was into this valley that Flaminius, the Roman general, led his men to attack him. A disposition every way so favourable for the Carthaginians, was also assisted by accident: a mist rising from the lake prevented the Romans from seeing their enemies; whilst the army upon the mountains, being above its influence, saw the whole arrangement of their opponents. The fortune of the day was such as might have been expected, from the conduct of the two generals; the Romans were broken and slaughtered, almost before they could perceive the enemy that destroyed them. About fifteen-thousand Romans, together with Flaminius himself, fell in the valley, and six-thousand more were obliged to surrender, prisoners of war.

Upon the news of this defeat reaching Rome, when the general consternation was allayed, the senate, after mature deliberation, resolved to elect a commander, with absolute authority, in whom they might repose their last and greatest confidence. Their choice fell upon Fabius Maximus, a man of great courage, but with a happy mixture of caution. He was of opinion, that the Carthaginians, at so great a distance from home, would be much more easily humbled by his harassing, than his fighting them. For this purpose, he always encamped upon the highest grounds, inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Whenever they moved, he moved, watched their motions, straitened their quarters, and cut off their provisions.

By these arts, Fabius had at one time enclosed Hannibal amongst mountains, where it was impossible for him to winter, and yet from which it was almost impracticable to extricate his army, without imminent danger. In this exigence, nothing but one of those stratagems of war, which fall to the lot only of great abilities, to invent, could save him: he ordered a number of small fagots, and lighted torches, to be tied to the horns of two-thousand oxen, and that they should be driven towards the enemy. These, tossing their heads, and running up the sides of the mountains, seemed to fill the whole neighbouring forests with fire; whilst the centinels, placed to guard the approaches, seeing so great a number of flames advancing towards their posts, fled in consternation, supposing the whole body of the enemy was in arms to overwhelm them. By this stratagem, Hannibal drew off his army, and escaped through the defiles which led beneath the hills; though with considerable damage to his rear

Soon afterwards, his time having expired, Fabius was obliged to lay down his office, and Terentius Varro was appointed to succeed him. This Varro was a man sprung from the dregs of the people, with nothing but his confidence and riches to recommend him. With him, was joined Æmilius Paulus, of a disposition entirely opposite; experienced in the field, cautious in action, and impressed with a thorough contempt of the abilities of his plebeian colleague.

The Romans, finding themselves enabled to bring a competent force into the field, (being almost ninety-thousand strong,) now again resolved to meet Hannibal, who was encamped near the village of Cannæ, with a wind, that, for a certain season, blows always one way, in his rear; which raising clouds of dust from the parched plains behind, he knew must greatly distress an approaching enemy. In this situation, he awaited the arrival of the Romans, having an army of forty-thousand foot, and half that number of cavalry.

According to his wish, the two consuls soon appeared, having divided their forces into two parts, and agreed to take the command alternately, each for a day.

The first day of their arrival being that on which Æmilius was to act, he was entirely averse to engaging. The next day, however, it being Varro's turn to command, he, without consulting his colleague, gave the signal for battle; and passing the river Aufidus, which lay between both armies, put his forces in array. The engagement began with the light armed infantry: the horse came in contact soon afterwards; but the Roman cavalry being unable to stand against that of Numidia, the legions came up to its assistance. The conflict then became general. The Roman soldiers, for a long time endeavoured, but in vain, to penetrate the centre, where the Gauls and Spaniards fought; which, Hannibal observing, he ordered part of those troops to give way, and permit the Romans to embosom themselves within a chosen body of his Africans, whom he had placed on their wings, so as to surround them: a dreadful slaughter now ensued, of the Romans, fatigued with repeated attacks from the Africans, who were fresh and vigorous. At last, the rout became general, in every part of the Roman army: the boastings of Varro were now no longer heard, whilst Æmilius, who had been severely wounded in the very beginning of the action, still feebly led on his body of cavalry, and did all that was possible, to withstand the enemy; however, being unable to sit on horseback, he was obliged to dismount. It was in this deplorable situation of affairs, that

tribune, named Lentulus, as he was flying from the enemy, which at some distance pursued him, perceived Æmilius, covered over with wounds and blood, sitting on a stone, and waiting for the arrival of the pursuers. "Æmilius," cried the generous tribune, "you, at least, are guiltless of this day's slaughter: take my horse, and fly." "I thank thee, Lentulus," cried the dying consul, "all is over: my part is chosen: go, I command thee, and tell the senate, from me, to fortify Rome against the approach of the conqueror. Tell Fabius, also, that Æmilius, whilst living, always remembered his advice, and now, dying, approves it." Whilst he was yet speaking, the enemy approached; and Lentulus, when at no great distance, saw the consul expire, feebly fighting in the midst of hundreds. In this battle, the Romans lost fifty-thousand men; amongst whom, were so many knights, that it is said, Hannibal sent to Carthage, three bushels of gold rings, which those of that order had worn upon their fingers.

When the first consternation had abated at Rome after this dreadful blow, the senate came to a general resolution to create a dictator, in order to give strength to their government. A short time afterwards, Varro arrived, having left behind him the wretched remains of his army; and, as he had been the principal cause of the late calamity, it was natural to suppose, that the senate would severely reprimand the rashness of his conduct. But, far otherwise! The Romans went out in multitudes to meet him; and the senate returned him thanks that he did not despair of the safety of Rome. Fabius, who was considered as the shield, and Marcellus as the sword of Rome, were appointed to lead the armies; and, though Hannibal once more offered them peace, they refused it, except on condition that he would leave Italy,—terms similar to those which they had formerly dictated to Pyrrhus.

In the mean time, Hannibal, either finding it impracticable to march directly to Rome, or wishing to give his forces rest after so signal a victory, led them to Capua; where he resolved to winter. This city had long been considered as the nurse of luxury, and the corrupter of all military virtue: here, therefore, a new scene of pleasure opened to his barbarian troops; and they at once gave themselves up to the intoxication, until from being hardy veterans, they became infirm rioters.

Hitherto, we have seen this great man successful; but now we are to reverse the picture, and behold him struggling with accumulating misfortunes, and at last sinking beneath them.

His first loss was at the siege of Nola, where Marcellus, the prætor, made a successful sally. Some time afterwards, he attempted to raise the siege of Capua, and attacked the Romans in their trenches; but he was repulsed with considerable loss. He then made a feint of going to besiege Rome; but, finding a superior army ready to receive him, he was obliged to retire. For several years afterwards, he fought with various success; Marcellus, his opponent, sometimes gaining, and sometimes losing the advantage, but coming to no decisive engagement.

The senate of Carthage at length came to a resolution of sending his brother Asdrubal to his assistance, with a body of forces drawn out of Spain. Asdrubal's march being made known to the consuls, Livius and Nero, they went against him with great expedition; and, surrounding him in a place, into which he had been led by the treachery of his guides, they cut his whole army to pieces. Hannibal had long expected these succours with impatience, but the very night on which he had been assured of their arrival, Nero ordered Asdrubal's head to be cut off, and thrown into his brother's camp. The Carthaginian general now began to foresee the downfall of his country, and could not avoid with a sigh observing, that fortune seemed fatigued with granting her favours.

In the mean time, she favoured the Roman arms in other parts: Marcellus took the city of Syracuse, in Sicily, which was defended by the machines and the fires of Archimedes, the mathematician.

The inhabitants were put to the sword; and, amongst the number, Archimedes himself, who was found by a Roman soldier, meditating in his study. A taste for literature beginning, at that time, to prevail amongst the higher ranks at Rome, Marcellus, the general, was greatly afflicted at his death. He therefore ordered his body to be honourably interred, and a tomb to be erected to his memory; which monument his own works have long survived.

Though their affairs in Spain for a while assumed an unfavourable aspect, two of the Scipios being slain, and Claudius Nero, the governor of that province, appearing much an undermatch for the cunning of the Carthaginian general; yet they soon recovered their complexion under the conduct of Scipio Africanus, who sued for the office of pro-consul to that kingdom, at a time when every one else seemed willing to decline it. Scipio, who was now but twenty-four years old, had all the qualifications requisite for forming an accomplished general

and a good man; he united the greatest courage with the greatest tenderness; superior to Hannibal in the arts of peace, and almost his equal in those of war. His father had been killed in Spain; so that he seemed to have an hereditary claim to attack that country. He therefore appeared irresistible, obtaining many great victories, yet subduing still more by his generosity, mildness, and benevolent disposition, than by the force of his arms.

He shortly afterwards returned, with an army, from the conquest of Spain; and was made consul, at the age of twenty-nine. It was at first supposed, that he intended meeting Hannibal in Italy, and that he would attempt driving him thence; but he had already formed a wiser plan, which was to carry the war into Africa, and whilst the Carthaginians kept an army near Rome, to make them tremble for their own capital.

Scipio was not long in Africa without employment: in a short time, Hanno opposed him; but he was defeated and slain. Syphax, the usurper of Numidia, led up a large army against him. The Roman general, for a while, declined fighting; but, finding an opportunity, he set fire to the enemy's tents, and, attacking them in the midst of the confusion, killed forty-thousand men, and took six-thousand prisoners.

The Carthaginians, now beginning to be terrified by their repeated defeats, and the fame of Scipio's successes, determined to recal Hannibal, their great champion, out of Italy, in order to oppose the Romans at home. Deputies were accordingly despatched, with positive instructions that he should return, and meet the Roman general, who threatened Carthage with a siege. Nothing could exceed the regret and disappointment of Hannibal, upon receiving this order. However, he obeyed the commands of his infatuated country, with the same submission that the humblest soldier would have done; and took leave of Italy, with tears in his eyes, after having kept possession of the most beautiful parts above fifteen years.

Having arrived at Leptis, in Africa, he next marched to Adrumetum, and at length approached Zama, a city within five days journey of Carthage.

Scipio, in the mean time, joined by Masinissa, with six-thousand horse, led out his army to meet him; and, to show his rival in the field, how little he feared his approach, he allowed the spies, sent to explore his camp, to return, (having previously pointed out the whole,) with directions to inform Hannibal of what he had seen.

The Carthaginian general, conscious of his inferiority, endeavoured to conclude the war by negotiation, and requested a meeting with Scipio, to confer upon terms of peace; to which negotiation, the Roman general assented. But, after a long conference, unsatisfactory on both sides, they returned to their camps, to prepare for deciding the controversy by the sword. Never was a more memorable battle fought; whether we regard the generals, the armies, the two states that contended, or the empire in dispute. The disposition made by Hannibal of his men, is said, by the skilful in the art of war, to have been superior to any, even of his former arrangements. On the side of the Carthaginians, the battle began with the elephants; which, being terrified by the cries of the Romans, and wounded by the slingers and archers, turned upon their drivers, and caused much confusion in both wings of their army, in which the cavalry was placed. Thus deprived of the assistance of the horse, in which lay their greatest strength, the heavy infantry joined, on both sides; but the Romans being of greater bodily power, the Carthaginians were obliged to retire. In the mean time, Masinissa, who had been in pursuit of their cavalry, returning and attacking them in the rear, completed their defeat. A total rout ensued; twenty-thousand men were killed in the battle, and as many were taken prisoners. Hannibal, who had done all that a great general and an undaunted soldier could perform, fled, with a small body of horse, to Adrumetum; fortune seeming to delight in confounding his ability, his valour, and experience.

This victory was followed by a peace. The Carthaginians, by Hannibal's advice, subscribed to conditions dictated by the Romans; not as rivals, but as sovereigns. By this treaty, the Carthaginians were obliged to quit Spain, and all the islands in the Mediterranean sea. They were bound to pay ten-thousand talents, in fifty years; to give hostages for the delivery of their ships and their elephants; to restore Masinissa all the territories of which he had been deprived, and not to make war in Africa but by the permission of the Romans. Thus ended the second Punic war, after having continued for seventeen years.

CHAPTER XVI.

From the end of the second Punic war, to the end of the third, which terminated in the destruction of Carthage.

WHILST the Romans were engaged with Hannibal, they carried on also a vigorous war against Philip, king of Macedonia. The principal incitement to the contest, was the urgent entreaty of the Athenians, who from once controlling even the power of Persia, were now unable to defend themselves. The Rhodians, with Attalus, king of Pergamus, also entered into the confederacy against Philip. He was frequently defeated by Galba, the consul, and his attempt to besiege Athens was rendered abortive; the Romans obliging him to withdraw. He endeavoured to take possession of the straits of Thermopylæ, but was driven from them, with great slaughter, by Quintus Flaminius. He then wished to take refuge in Thessaly, where he was again defeated, with considerable loss, and obliged to sue for peace; which was granted, on condition of his paying a thousand talents, one half then, and the other in ten years. The peace with Philip gave the Romans an opportunity of showing their generosity, by restoring liberty to Greece.

Antiochus, king of Syria, was next brought to submit to the Roman arms. Several embassies having mutually taken place, a war was declared against him, five years after the conclusion of that with Macedonia.

After a succession of errors, he attempted to obtain a peace, by offering to evacuate all his European possessions, and those also in Asia, which professed alliance to Rome. But it was now too late: Scipio, perceiving his own superiority, resolved to avail himself of it. Antiochus, thus driven to resistance, for some time retreated before the enemy, until, being pressed hard, near the city of Magnesia, he was compelled to draw out his men, amounting to seventy-thousand foot, and twelve-thousand horse. Scipio opposed him with forces, as much inferior in number, as they were superior in courage and discipline. Antiochus, therefore, was in a short time entirely defeated; his own chariots, armed with scythes, being driven back upon his men, and contributing much to his overthrow. Thus reduced to the last extremity, he was glad to procure peace from the Romans, on their own terms; which were, that he should pay fifteen-thousand talents towards the expenses of the war; quit all his possessions in Europe, and those in Asia

on that side of Mount Taurus; give twenty hostages as pledges of his performance, and deliver up Hannibal, the inveterate enemy of Rome.

Hannibal, whose destruction was one of the articles of this extorted treaty, endeavoured to avoid the threatened ruin. This consummate general had been long a wanderer and an exile from his ungrateful country. He had taken refuge at the court of Antiochus, who, at first, gave him a sincere welcome, and made him admiral of his fleet; in which station, he displayed his usual skill in stratagem. But he soon sunk in the Syrian's esteem, by having advised measures, which that monarch had neither genius to understand, nor abilities to execute. Conscious, therefore, that both safety and protection would be denied him, he departed secretly; and, after wandering a considerable time amongst petty states, which had neither power nor generosity to befriend him, he took refuge at the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia. In the mean time, the Romans, with a vindictive spirit utterly unworthy of them, sent Æmilius, one of their most celebrated generals, to demand him of this king; who, fearing the resentment of Rome, and willing to conciliate their friendship by this breach of hospitality, ordered a guard to be placed upon Hannibal, with an intention of delivering him up. The poor old general, thus implacably persecuted from one country to another, and finding all means of safety cut off, determined to die. He therefore desired one of his followers to bring him poison, which he had ready for this exigence; and having drunk it, he expired.

U. C. A second Macedonian war was soon afterwards pro-
583. claimed, against Perseus, the son of Philip, whom we have already seen obliged to beg peace of the Romans. Perseus, in order to secure the crown, had barbarously murdered his brother Demetrius! and, upon the death of his father, pleased with the hopes of expected triumphs, made war against Rome. During the course of these hostilities, (which continued about three years,) many opportunities were offered him of cutting off the Roman army; but, not knowing how to take advantage of their rashness, he spent the time in empty overtures for peace. At length, Æmilius gave him a decisive overthrow, near the river Enipeus. He attempted to procure safety by flying into Crete; but, being abandoned by all, he was obliged to surrender himself, and to grace the splendid triumph of the Roman general.

About this time, Masinissa, the Numidian, having made some incursions into a territory claimed by the Carthaginians

they attempted to repel the invasion. This produced a war between the parties; and the Romans, who pretended to consider this conduct on the part of Carthage, an infraction of the treaty, sent to remonstrate. The ambassadors who were employed upon this occasion, finding the city very rich and flourishing from the uninterrupted peace which it had now enjoyed for nearly fifty years, either from motives of avarice to possess its plunder, or alarmed at its growing prosperity, insisted strongly on the necessity of a war. Hostilities were soon after proclaimed, and the consuls set out, fully determined on the destruction of Carthage.

The wretched Carthaginians, finding that the conquerors would not desist from making demands, whilst they had any thing remaining, attempted to soften the victors by submission; but they ordered them to leave their city; which was to be leveled with the ground. This severe command they received with all the concern and distress of a despairing people: they begged a respite from so hard a sentence: they used tears and lamentations; but, finding the consuls inexorable, they departed with a gloomy resolution, prepared to suffer the utmost extremities, and to fight, to the last, for the seat of their empire.

Those vessels, therefore, of gold and silver, which had hitherto adorned their luxurious banquets, were now converted into arms. The women also parted with their ornaments, and even cut off their hair, to be made into bow-strings. Asdrubal, who had lately been condemned for opposing the Romans, was now taken from prison, to head the army; and, so great were the preparations, that, when the consuls came before the city, which they expected to find an easy conquest, they met a resistance which quite dispirited their forces, and shook their resolution. Several engagements took place before the walls, with disadvantage to the assailants; so that the siege would have been discontinued, had not Scipio Æmilianus, (the adopted son of Africanus,) who was now appointed to superintend it, shown as much skill to save his forces after a defeat, as to inspire them with fresh hopes of victory. But all his arts would have failed, had he not found means to seduce Pharnes, the master of the Carthaginian horse, who came over to his side. The unhappy townsmen soon saw the enemy make nearer approaches: the wall which led to the haven was quickly demolished; soon afterwards, the forum itself was taken, displaying to the conquerors a deplorable spectacle, of houses tumbling, heaps of men lying dead, hundreds of the wounded struggling to emerge from the surrounding carnage, and de-

ploring their own, and their country's ruin. The citadel soon after surrendered at discretion. All but the temple was now subdued, and that was defended by deserters from the Roman army, and those who had been most forward to undertake the war. They, however, expecting no mercy, and finding their situation desperate, set fire to the building, and voluntarily perished in the flames. This was the end of one of the most renowned cities in the world, for arts, opulence, and extent of dominion. It had rivaled Rome for above a hundred years, and; at one time, was thought to have the superiority.

The destruction of Carthage was succeeded by conquests over many other states. Corinth, one of the noblest cities of Greece, in the same year sustained a similar fate; being entered by Mummius, the consul, and leveled with the ground. Scipio also having laid siege to Numantia, the strongest city of Spain, the wretched inhabitants, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, set it on fire; and all, without exception, expired in the flames.

Thus, Spain fell under the dominion of Rome, and was governed thenceforward by two prætors annually appointed.

CHAPTER XVII.

From the destruction of Carthage, to the end of the sedition of the Gracchi.

U. C. 621. THE Romans being now left without a rival, the triumphs and the spoils of Asia introduced a taste for extravagance, which was succeeded by avarice and inverted ambition. The two Gracchi, the first who perceived this corruption amongst the great, resolved to repress it, by renewing the Licinian law, which had enacted, that no person in the state should possess above five-hundred acres of land. Tiberius Gracchus, the elder of the two, was a man very conspicuous, both for the beauty of his person, and the qualities of his mind. Very different from Scipio, of whom he was a grandson, he seemed more ambitious of power, than desirous of glory: his sympathy for the oppressed was equal to his animosity against the oppressors; but, unhappily, his passions, rather than his reason, operated, even in his pursuits of virtue; and these always hurried him beyond the line of duty. Such was the disposition of the elder Gracchus, who found the lower

orders ready to second all his proposals. This Licinian law, though at first used with proper moderation, greatly disgusted the rich, who endeavoured to persuade the people, that the proposer aimed only at disturbing the government, and putting all things in confusion. But Gracchus, who was a man of the greatest eloquence of his time, easily erased these impressions from their minds, already irritated by injuries; and the law was at length passed.

The death of Attalus, king of Pergamus, furnished Tiberius Gracchus with a new opportunity of gratifying the poor, at the expense of the rich. This king had, by his will, appointed the Romans his heirs; and it was now proposed that the money, so left, should be divided amongst the poor, in order to furnish them with proper utensils for cultivating the lands, which became theirs by the late law of partition. This caused still greater disturbances than before. The senate assembled upon this occasion, to determine upon the most efficient measures of securing for themselves those riches, which they now valued above the safety of the commonwealth. They had numerous dependants, who were willing to exchange their liberty, for ease and plenty: these, therefore, were ordered to be in readiness to intimidate the people, who expected no such opposition, and who were now attending to the harangues of Tiberius Gracchus, in the capitol. Here, as a clamour was raised, by the clients of the great, on one side, and the favourers of the law on the other, Tiberius found his speech entirely interrupted, and begged, in vain, to be heard: at last, raising his hand to his head, to intimate that his life was in danger, the partisans of the senate exclaimed, that he wanted a diadem. In consequence of this, there ensued a universal uproar. The corrupt part of the senate were of opinion, that the consul should defend the commonwealth, by force of arms; but this prudent magistrate declining such violence, Scipio Nautica, kinsman to Gracchus, immediately rose, and, preparing himself for the contest, desired that all, who would defend the dignity and authority of the laws, should follow him. Then, attended by a large body of senators, and clients armed with clubs, he went directly to the capitol, striking down all who ventured to resist. Tiberius, perceiving by the tumult that his life was in danger, endeavoured to fly; and, throwing aside his robe to expedite his escape, attempted to press through the throng; but, happening to fall over a person already on the ground, Saturnius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, who was of the opposite faction, struck him dead with a piece of a seat, and not less than three-

hundred of his hearers were killed in the tumult. Nor did the vengeance of the senate stop here. It extended to numbers of those who seemed to espouse his cause: many were put to death, many were banished; and nothing was omitted to inspire the people with an abhorrence of his imputed crimes.

Caius Gracchus was only twenty-one, upon the death of his brother Tiberius; and, as he was too young to be much dreaded by the great, so he was at first unwilling to incur their resentment, by aims beyond his reach: he therefore lived in retirement, unseen, and almost forgotten. But, whilst he thus seemed desirous to shun popularity, he was employing his solitude in a way which was the readiest to obtain it—the study of eloquence. At length, when he thought himself qualified to serve his country, he offered himself a candidate for the prætorship, to the army in Sardinia; which he readily obtained. His valour, affability, and temperance in this office, were remarked by all. The king of Numidia, sending a present of corn to the Romans, ordered his ambassadors to say, that it was entirely as a tribute to the virtues of Caius Gracchus. This, the senate treated with scorn: they commanded the ambassadors to be dismissed, as ignorant barbarians; which so inflamed the resentment of young Gracchus, that he immediately came from the army, to complain of the indignity thrown upon his reputation, and to offer himself for the tribuneship of the people. It was then, that the great found in this youth, hitherto neglected on account of his age, a more formidable antagonist, than even his brother had been. Notwithstanding the warmest opposition from the senate, he was declared tribune, by a large majority; and he now prepared to run the same career, in which his brother had been before so conspicuous.

His first effort was to have Popilius, one of the most inveterate of his brother's enemies, cited before the people; but he, rather than stand the event of a trial, went into voluntary banishment. He next procured an edict, granting the freedom of the city to the inhabitants of Latium; and, soon afterwards, to all the people on that side of the Alps. He afterwards fixed the price of corn at a moderate standard, and procured a monthly distribution of it amongst the people. He then proceeded to an inspection into the late corruptions of the senate; the whole body of which—being convicted of bribery, extortion, and the sale of offices, (for at that time a total degeneracy seemed to have taken place,) a law was passed, transferring from the senate to the knights the power of judging corrupt magistrates, which made a great change in the constitution.

Gracchus, by these means, having grown not only very popular, but very powerful in the state, became an object at which the senate aimed all their resentment. But he soon found the populace a faithless and unsteady support: they began to withdraw all their confidence from him, and to place it in Drusus, a man insidiously set up against him by the senate. It was in vain that he revived the Licinian law in their favour, and called up several of the inhabitants of the different Italian towns, to his support; the senate ordered them all to depart from Rome, and even sent one stranger to prison, whom Gracchus had invited to dine with him, and honoured with his table and friendship. To this indignity, was shortly after added a disgrace, of a more fatal tendency: standing for the tribuneship a third time, he was unsuccessful; it being supposed that the officers, whose duty it was to make the return, were bribed to reject him, though fairly chosen.

It was now evident that the fate of Gracchus was determined. Opimius, the consul, was not contented with the protection of all the senate and the knights, with a numerous retinue of slaves and clients, but ordered a body of Caudians, that were mercenaries in the Roman service, to follow and attend him. Thus guarded, and conscious of the superiority of his forces, he insulted Gracchus wherever he met him; doing all he could to excite a quarrel, that he might have a pretence of despatching his enemy in the fray. Gracchus avoided all recrimination; and, as if apprized of the consul's designs, would not even wear any kind of arms for his defence. His friend Flaccus, however, a zealous tribune, was not so remiss, but resolved to oppose party against party; and, for this purpose, brought up to Rome several countrymen, who came under pretence of wanting employment. When the day for determining the controversies arrived, the two parties, early in the morning, attended at the capitol; where, whilst the consul was sacrificing according to custom, one of the lictors, taking up the entrails of the beast that was slain, in order to remove them, could not forbear crying out, to Fulvius and his party, "You, ye factious citizens, make way for honest men." This insult so provoked those to whom it was addressed, that they instantly fell upon him, and pierced him to death with the instruments they used in writing, which they then happened to have in their hands. This murder caused a great disturbance in the assembly: Gracchus, in particular, who saw the consequences that were likely to ensue, reprimanded his party for giving his enemies so great an advantage over him, and now prepared to lead his

followers to mount Aventine. Here, he learned that proclamation had been made by the consuls, that whoever would bring either his head or that of Flaccus, should receive as a reward, its weight in gold. It was to no purpose that he sent the youngest son of Flaccus, who was yet a child, with proposals for an accommodation. The senate and the consuls, sensible of their superiority, rejected all his offers, and resolved to punish his offence with nothing less than death; but, at the same time they offered pardon to all who should immediately abandon him. This produced the desired effect; the people deserted him by degrees, and left him with very inferior forces. In the mean time, Opimius, the consul, thirsting for slaughter, led his forces up to mount Aventine, and fell in amongst the crowd with ungovernable fury: a terrible slaughter of the scarcely resisting multitude ensued, and not less than three-thousand citizens were slain upon the spot. Flaccus attempted to find shelter in a deserted cottage; but, being discovered, he was killed, with his eldest son. Gracchus, at first, retired to the temple of Diana, where he resolved to die by his own hand, but was prevented by two of his faithful friends and followers, Pomponius and Licinius, who forced him to seek safety by flight. He then endeavoured to reach a bridge which led from the city, still attended by his two generous friends, and a Grecian slave, whose name was Philocrates. But his pursuers pressed closely upon him, and when arrived at the foot of the bridge he was obliged to turn and face the enemy. His two friends were soon slain, defending him against the crowd; and he, with his Grecian, was forced to take refuge beyond the Tyber, in a grove which had long been dedicated to the Furies. Here, finding himself surrounded on every side, and no way left of escaping, he prevailed upon his slave to despatch him; who immediately afterwards killed himself, and fell down upon the body of his beloved master. The pursuers, soon coming up, cut off the head of Gracchus, and placed it, for a while, as a trophy, upon a spear; and one Septimuleius, having carried it home, and secretly taken out the brain, filled it with lead, in order to increase its weight; by which artifice, he received from the consul, as a recompense, seventeen pounds of gold.

Thus died, Caius Gracchus, about ten years after his brother Tiberius, and six after he began to be active in the commonwealth. He is usually impeached by historians, as guilty of sedition; but, from what we see of his character, the disturbing of the public tranquillity was owing rather to his opposers than to him, so that instead of calling the tumults of that time the

sedition of the Gracchi, we should rather call them the sedition of the senate against the Gracchi; since the efforts of the latter were made in vindication of a law to which the senate had assented, and as the designs of the former were supported by an extraneous armed power from the country, which had never before interfered in the business of the legislation, and whose introduction gave an irrevocable blow to the constitution. Whether the Gracchi were actuated by motives of ambition, or of patriotism, in the promulgation of these laws, it is impossible to determine; but certain it is, from what appears, that all justice was on their side, and all injury on that of the senate. This body was now quite changed, from that venerable assembly which we have seen overthrowing Pyrrhus and Hannibal, as much by their virtues, as by their arms. They were now to be distinguished from the rest of the people, only by their superior luxury; and ruled the commonwealth by the weight of that authority, which is gained from riches and a number of mercenary dependants. All the venal and the base were attached to them, from motives of self interest; and they who still ventured to be independent, were borne down and entirely lost, in the infamous majority. The empire at this period came under the government of a hateful aristocracy: the tribunes, who were formerly accounted protectors of the people, becoming rich themselves, and having no longer opposite interests from those of the senate, concurred in their oppressions; since, as it has been said, the struggle was not now between patricians and plebeians, who only nominally differed, but between the rich and the poor. The lower orders of the state, being, by these means, reduced to a degree of hopeless subjugation, instead of looking after liberty, sought only for a leader; whilst the rich, with all the suspicions of tyrants, and terrified at the slightest appearance of opposition, intrusted men with uncontrollable power, from whom they had not strength to withdraw it, when the danger was over. Thus, both parties of the state concurred in giving up their freedom: the fears of the senate first made a dictator, and the hatred of the people kept him in office. Nothing can be more dreadful, to a reflecting mind, than the government of Rome, from this period, until it found refuge under the protection of Augustus.

CHAPTER XVIII.

From the sedition of the Gracchi, to the perpetual dictatorship of Sylla, which was the first step towards the ruin of the commonwealth.

WHILST the Romans were in this state of deplorable corruption at home, they nevertheless were very successful in their transactions abroad.

● Jugurtha was a grandson of the famous Masinissa, who fought against Hannibal, on the side of Rome. He was educated with the two young princes, who were left to inherit the kingdom, to both of whom he was superior in abilities, and was also greatly in favour with the people. He murdered Hiempsal, the eldest son, and attempted the life of Adherbal, the younger, who made his escape, and fled to the Romans, for succour. ● Jugurtha, sensible how much avarice and injustice had crept into the senate, sent his ambassadors to Rome, with large presents; which so successfully prevailed, that the senate decreed him half the kingdom, which he had thus acquired by murder and usurpation, and sent ten commissioners to divide it between him and Adherbal. The commissioners, of whom Opimius, the murderer of Gracchus, was one, willing to follow the example which had been set them by the senate, were also bribed to bestow the richest and most populous part of the kingdom upon the usurper; who, notwithstanding, was resolved to take possession of the whole. But, wishing to give a colour to his ambition, he, in the beginning, only made incursions upon his colleague's territories, in order to provoke reprisals; which he knew how to convert into seeming aggressions, in case an appeal were made to the senate. 'This failing, he resolved to throw off the mask; and, besieging Adherbal in Cirta, his capital, at length got him into his power, and murdered him. The people of Rome, who had still some generosity remaining, unanimously complained of this treachery, and procured a decree that Jugurtha should be summoned, in person, before them, to give an account of all those who had accepted bribes. Jugurtha made no great difficulty in throwing himself upon the clemency of Rome; but, giving the people no satisfaction, he was ordered to depart from the city, and in the mean time an army was despatched to follow him, under the command of Albanus, the consul. He having given up the command to Aulus, his brother, a person every way unqualified for the sit-

uation, the Romans were compelled to hazard a battle upon disadvantageous terms, and the whole army, to avoid being cut to pieces, were obliged to pass under the yoke.

In this condition, Metellus, the succeeding consul, found affairs, on his arrival in Numidia; officers without confidence; an army without discipline, and an enemy always watchful and intriguing. However, by his great attention to business, and by an integrity that shuddered at corruption, he soon began to retrieve the affairs of Rome, and the credit of the army. In the space of two years, Jugurtha was overthrown in several battles, forced out of his own dominions, and constrained to beg a peace. Thus, all things promised Metellus a certain and an easy victory; but he was frustrated in his expectations by the intrigues of Caius Marius, his lieutenant; who came in to reap the harvest of that glory, which the other's industry had sown. Marius was born in a village near Arpinium, of poor parents, who gained their living by their labour. As he had been bred up in a participation of their toils, his manners were as rude as his countenance was frightful. He was a man of extraordinary stature, incomparable strength, and undaunted bravery. When Metellus, as already related, was obliged to solicit at Rome for a continuance of his command, Marius, whose ambition knew no bounds, resolved to obtain it for himself; and thus gain all the glory of terminating the war. To that end, he privately inveighed against Metellus, by his emissaries; and, having excited a spirit of discontent against him, he obtained leave to go to Rome, to stand, himself, for the consulship; which, contrary to the expectation and interest of the nobles, he obtained. Marius, thus invested with the supreme power of managing the war, showed himself every way fit for the commission. His vigilance was equal to his valour; and he quickly made himself master of the cities which Jugurtha had yet remaining in Numidia. This unfortunate prince, finding himself unable to make opposition singly, was obliged to have recourse to Bocchus, king of Mauritania, to whose daughter he was married. A battle ensued; in which, the Numidians surprised the Roman camp, by night, and gained a temporary advantage. But Marius, soon afterwards, overthrew them in two signal engagements, in one of which not less than ninety-thousand of the African army were killed. Bocchus, now finding the Romans too powerful to be resisted, did not think it expedient to hazard his crown, to protect that of his ally: he therefore determined to make peace, on any conditions that might be obtained; and accordingly sent to Rome, imploring protection. The senate

received the ambassadors with their usual haughtiness; and, without complying with their request, granted the suppliant, not their friendship, but their pardon. However, after some time, he was informed, that the delivering of Jugurtha to the Romans, would, in some measure, conciliate their favour, and soften their resentment. At first, the pride of Bocchus struggled against such a proposal; but a few interviews with Sylla, who was quæstor to Marius, reconciled him to this treacherous measure. At length, therefore, Jugurtha was given up; having been drawn into an ambuscade by the specious pretences of his ally, who had deluded him by desiring a conference. He was then carried by Marius to Rome, loaded with chains; a deplorable instance of blasted ambition. He did not long survive his overthrow; being condemned by the senate, a short time after he had adorned the triumph of the conqueror, to be starved to death in prison. Marius, by this, and two succeeding victories over the Gauls, having grown very formidable to distant nations in war, became, soon afterwards, much more dangerous to his fellow citizens, in peace.

The strength which he had given the popular party, every day grew more conspicuous; and the Italians being frustrated in their aims of gaining the freedom of Rome by the intrigues of the senate, resolved upon obtaining by force, what was refused them as a favour. This gave rise to the Social War; in which, most of the states of Italy entered into a confederacy against Rome, in order to obtain a redress of this, and every other grievance.

After a lapse of two years, this war having continued to rage with doubtful success, the senate began to reflect, that whether conquered or conquerors, the power of the Romans was in danger of being totally destroyed. In order, therefore, that they might comply with their wishes by degrees, they began by giving the freedom of the city to those Italian states which had not revolted. They then offered it to those who would first lay down their arms. This unexpected bounty had the desired effect; the allies, with mutual distrust, offering each a separate treaty. The senate then took them, one by one, into favour; but gave the freedom of the city in such a manner, that not being empowered to vote until all the other tribes had given their suffrages, they had very little weight in the constitution. In this manner, they were made free; all but the Samnites and Lucanians, who seemed excluded from the general compromise, as if to leave Sylla, who commanded against them, the glory of putting an end to the war: which he performed with great

ability; storming their camps; overthrowing them in several battles, and obliging them to submit to such terms as the senate was pleased to impose.

This destructive war being concluded, which, as Paterculus says, consumed above three hundred-thousand of the flower of Italy, the senate now began to think of turning their arms against Mithridates, the most powerful monarch of the east.

For this enterprise, Marius had long been preparing; but Sylla, who now began to make a figure in the commonwealth, had interest enough to get that general set aside, and himself appointed to the expedition. Marius, however, tried all his arts with the people, to have this appointment reversed; and, at length, a law was enacted, by which the command of the army designed to oppose Mithridates, was to be transferred from Sylla to himself.

● In consequence of this, Marius immediately sent down officers from Rome, to take the command, in his name. But, instead of obeying his orders, the soldiers slew the officers, and then entreated Sylla that he would lead them directly to take signal vengeance upon all his enemies at Rome.

Accordingly, they entered the city, sword-in-hand, as a place taken by storm. ● Marius and Sulpitius, at the head of a tumultuary body of their partisans, attempted to oppose their entrance; ~~and the~~ citizens themselves, who feared the sacking of the place, ~~threw~~ down stones and tiles, from the tops of the houses, upon ~~the~~ intruders. So unequal a conflict lasted longer than could have been expected: at length, Marius and his party were obliged to seek safety by flight; after having, in vain, offered freedom to all the slaves who would assist them.

Sylla, now finding himself master of the city, began by modeling the laws, so as to favour his outrages; whilst Marius, driven out of Rome, and declared a public enemy, at the age of seventy, was obliged to save himself, unattended and on foot, from the numerous pursuits of those who sought his life. After having wandered for some time in this deplorable condition, he found his dangers every day increase, and his pursuers gaining ground upon him. In this distress, he was obliged to conceal himself in the marshes of Minturnæ, where he spent the night, up to his chin in a quagmire. At break of day, he left this dismal place, and made towards the sea-side, in hopes of finding a ship to facilitate his escape: but, being known and discovered by some of the inhabitants, he was conducted to a neighbouring town, and with a halter round his neck, without clothes, and covered over with mud, was sent to prison. The

governor of the place, willing to conform to the orders of the senate, soon afterwards sent a Cimbrian slave to despatch him. But the barbarian, as soon as he entered the dungeon for this purpose, stopped short; intimidated by the dreadful visage and awful voice of the fallen general, who sternly demanded, "Have you the presumption to kill Caius Marius?" The slave, unable to reply, threw down his sword; and, rushing back from the prison, cried out, that he found it impossible to kill him! The governor, considering the fear of the slave as an omen in the unhappy exile's favour, gave him, once more, his freedom; and, commending him to his fortune, provided him with a ship, to convey him from Italy. He thence proceeded to the Island of Ænaria; and, sailing onward, was forced by a tempest on the coast of Sicily. A Roman quæstor, who happened to be at the same place, resolved to seize him; by which, he lost sixteen of his crew, who were killed in their endeavours to cover his retreat from the ship. He afterwards landed in Africa, near Carthage; and went, in a melancholy manner, to place himself amongst the ruins of that desolated place. He soon, however, received orders from the prætor who governed there, to retire. Marius, who remembered his having once served this very man when in necessity, could not suppress his sorrow, at finding ingratitude in every part of the world; and, preparing to obey, desired the messenger to inform his master, that he had seen Marius sitting amongst the ruins of Carthage: intimating the greatness of his own fall, by the desolation that surrounded him. He then embarked once more: and not knowing where to land without encountering an enemy, spent the winter at sea; expecting, every hour, the return of a messenger from his son, whom he had sent to solicit protection from an African prince, whose name was Mandrastal. After long expectation, instead of the messenger, his son himself arrived: having escaped from the inhospitable court of that monarch, where he had been detained, not as a friend, but as a prisoner; and he returned just time enough to prevent his father from sharing the same fate. It was in this situation they were informed, that Cinna, one of their party who remained at Rome, had restored their affairs; and that he then headed a large army of the Italian states in his cause.

Nor was it long before they joined their forces, and presented themselves at the gates of Rome. Sylla was at that time absent, in his command against Mithridates, whilst Cinna marched into the city, accompanied by his guards; but Marius stopped, and refused to enter, alleging, that having been banished by a

public decree, it was necessary to have another, to authorize his return. It was thus, that he intended to give his meditated cruelties the appearance of justice; and whilst he planned the destruction of thousands, to assume an implicit veneration for the laws. In pursuance of his desire, an assembly of the people being called, they began to annul the sentence of his banishment: but they had scarcely gone through three of the tribes, when, incapable of containing his desire of revenge, he entered the city, at the head of his guards; and massacred all that had ever been obnoxious to him, without pity or remorse. Numbers who sought to avert the tyrant's rage, were murdered by his command, and in his presence; many, even of those who had never offended him, were put to death; and, at last, even his own officers never approached him but with terror. Having in this manner punished his enemies, he next abrogated all the laws made by his rival; and then associated himself in the consulship with Cinna. Thus gratified in his two favourite passions, vengeance and ambition: having once saved his country, and now deluged it with blood; at last, as if willing to crown with his own body, the pile of slaughter which he had made, he died the month afterwards; not without suspicion of having hastened his end.

In the mean time, these accounts were brought to Sylla, who was sent to oppose Mithridates, and was performing many signal services against him; but, concluding a peace with that monarch, he resolved to return, to take revenge of his enemies at Rome.

Nothing, however, could intimidate Cinna from making preparations to repel his opponent. Being joined by Carbô, now elected in the room of Valerius, who had been slain; together with young Marius, who inherited all the abilities and the ambition of his father, he determined upon sending over part of the forces which he had raised in Dalmatia, to oppose Sylla before he should enter Italy. Some troops were accordingly embarked; but, being dispersed by a storm, the rest who had not yet put to sea, absolutely refused to go. Upon this, Cinna, quite furious at their disobedience, rushed forward to compel them to their duty; and one of the most mutinous of the soldiers, being struck by an officer, returned the blow, and was apprehended for the crime. This ill-timed severity increased the tumult and the mutiny; and whilst Cinna did all he could to appease it, he was pierced through the body by one of the crowd.

Scipio, the consul, who commanded against Sylla, was soon

afterwards allured by proposals for a treaty; and a suspension of arms being agreed on, Sylla's soldiers went into the opposite camp, displaying the riches which they had acquired in their expeditions, and offering to participate with their fellow citizens, in case they would change their party. Accordingly, the whole army declared for Sylla; and Scipio scarcely knew that he was forsaken and deposed, until he was informed of it by a party of the enemy, who, entering his tent, made him and his son their prisoners.

In this manner, both factions, exasperated to the highest degree, and expecting no mercy on either part, gave vent to their fury in several engagements. The forces on the side of young Marius, who now succeeded his father in command, were the most numerous; but those of Sylla better united, and more under subordination. Carbo, who commanded an army in the field for Marius, sent eight legions to Præneste, to relieve his colleague; but they were met in a defile by Pompey, (afterwards surnamed the Great,) who killed many of them and dispersed the rest. Carbo, joined by Urbanus, soon afterwards engaged Metellus; but was overcome, with the loss of ten-thousand men slain, and six-thousand taken prisoners. In consequence of this defeat, Urbanus killed himself, and Carbo fled to Africa, where, after wandering a long time, he was at last delivered up to Pompey, who, to please Sylla, ordered him to be beheaded.

Sylla now became undisputed master of his country, and entered Rome at the head of his army. Happy, had he supported in peace, the glory which he acquired in war, or, had he ceased to live, when he ceased to conquer.

Eight-thousand men, who had escaped the general carnage, offered themselves to the conqueror. He ordered them to be put into the Villa Publica, a large house in the Campus Martius, and at the same time convoked the senate. He spoke with great fluency, and in a manner no way discomposed, of his own exploits; and in the mean time gave private directions, that all those wretches whom he had confined, should be put to death. Amazed at the horrid outcries of the sufferers, the senate at first thought that the city was given up to plunder; but Sylla, with an unembarrassed air, informed them, that the noise proceeded from some criminals who were punished by his order, and that they needed not to have been uneasy about their fate. The day afterwards, he proscribed forty senators, and sixteen-hundred knights; and, after an intermission of two days, forty

senators more, with an infinite number of the richest citizens of Rome.

He next resolved to invest himself with the dictatorship, and that for a perpetuity; and thus, uniting in his own person, all power, civil as well as military, he was confident he might thence give an air of justice to every oppression.

In this manner, he continued to govern with capricious tyranny, none daring to resist his power; until, contrary to the expectations of all mankind, he laid down the dictatorship, having held it not quite three years.

After this, he retired into the country; as if to enjoy the pleasures of tranquillity and social happiness! But he did not long survive his abdication: he died of that disease, called *merbus pedicularis*; a loathsome and mortifying object, forcibly displaying the futility of human ambition.

CHAPTER XIX.

From the perpetual dictatorship of Sylla, to the triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

U. C. 680. UPON the death of Sylla, the jealousies of Pompey (properly called Pompeius) and Crassus, the two most powerful men in the empire, began to excite fresh dissensions. Pompey was the most beloved general; and Crassus, the richest man in Rome.

The first opportunity of discovering their mutual jealousy, was upon the disbanding of the troops, with which they had conquered. Neither chose to begin; so that the most fatal consequences threatened: but at length Crassus, stifling his resentment, laid down his command; and the other followed his example immediately afterwards.

The next trial between them, was, who should be foremost in obtaining the favour of the people. Crassus entertained the populace at a thousand different tables, distributed corn to the families of the poor, and fed the greater part of the citizens, for nearly three months. Pompey, on the other hand, laboured to abrogate the laws made against the people's authority by Sylla: he restored to the knights, the power of judging, which had been formerly granted them by Gracchus; and gave back to the tribunes of the people, all their former privileges. It was

thus that each gave his private aims a public appearance; so that what in fact was ambition in both, took with one the name of liberality—with the other, that of freedom.

An expedition, in which Pompey cleared the Mediterranean of pirates, having added greatly to his reputation, the tribunes of the people hoped it would be easy to advance their favourite still higher; wherefore, Manlius, one of the number, proposed a law, that all the armies of the empire, the government of all Asia, together with the management of the war, which was renewed against Mithridates, should be committed to Pompey alone. The law passed with little opposition, and the decree was confirmed by all the tribes of the people.

Thus appointed to the command in that important war, he immediately departed for Asia; having made the necessary preparations towards forwarding the campaign. Mithridates had been obliged, by Lucullus, to take refuge in Lesser Armenia; and thither the latter was preparing to follow him, when his whole army abandoned him; so that it remained for Pompey to terminate the war, which he effected with great ease and expedition; adding a large extent of dominion to the Roman empire, and returning to Rome, in triumph, at the head of his conquering army.

But all the victories of Pompey served rather to heighten the glory, than increase the power of Rome: they only made it a more glaring object of ambition, and exposed its liberties to greater danger.

Those liberties, indeed, seemed devoted to ruin, on every side. Even whilst Pompey was pursuing his conquests abroad, Rome was in imminent danger, from a conspiracy at home. This conspiracy was projected and carried on by Sergius Catilina, (familiarly called Catiline,) a patrician by birth; who resolved to build his own power upon the ruin of his country. He was singularly adapted, both by nature and art, to conduct a conspiracy: he was possessed of courage equal to the most desperate attempts, and eloquence to give a colour to his ambition: ruined in his fortune, profligate in his manners, and vigilant in pursuing his aims, he was insatiable after wealth, only with a view to lavish it on his guilty pleasures.

Having contracted many debts by the looseness of his ill spent life, he resolved to extricate himself from them, by any means, however unlawful. Accordingly, he assembled about thirty of his debauched associates, and informed them of his aims, his hopes, and his plan of operations. It was determined amongst them, that a general insurrection should be raised

throughout Italy; the different parts of which were assigned to the different leaders. Rome was to be fired in several places at once, and Catiline, at the head of an army raised in Etruria, was, in the general confusion, to take possession of the city, and massacre all the senators. Lentulus, one of his profligate assistants, who had been prætor or judge in the city, was to preside in their general councils: Cethegus, a man who sacrificed the possession of present power, to the hopes of gratifying his revenge against Cicero, was to direct the massacre through the city; and Cæsius was to conduct those who fired it. But the vigilance of Cicero being a chief obstacle to their designs, Catiline was desirous to see him despatched before he left Rome: upon which, two knights of the company undertook to kill him the next morning, in his bed, during an early visit, on pretence of business. But the meeting was no sooner over, than Cicero had information of all that had passed. By the intrigues of a woman, named Fulvia, he had gained over Curius, her lover, one of the conspirators, to send him an immediate account of their deliberations. Having observed the necessary precautions to guard himself against the designs of his morning visitors, who were punctual to their appointment, he next took care to provide for the defence of the city; and, assembling the senate, consulted what was best to be done, in this time of danger. The first step, was to offer considerable rewards for further discoveries: the next, to prepare for the protection of the state. Catiline, to show how well he could dissemble or justify any crime, went boldly to the senate, declaring his innocence; but, when confronted by the eloquence of Cicero, he hastily withdrew, announcing aloud, that, since he was denied a vindication of himself, and driven headlong by his enemies, he would extinguish the flame which was raised about him, in universal ruin. Accordingly, after a short conference with Lentulus and Cethegus, he left Rome by night, with a small retinue; directing his way to Etruria, where Manlius, one of the conspirators, was raising an army to support him. In the mean time, Cicero secured all the conspirators who remained in Rome. Lentulus, Cethegus, Cæsius, and several others, were put in confinement; and soon afterwards, by the command of the senate, being delivered over to the executioners, were strangled in prison.

Whilst his associates were put to death in the city, Catiline had raised an army of twelve-thousand men; of whom, only a fourth part were completely armed; the rest being furnished with what chance afforded—darts, lances, and clubs. Trusting

to the sole strength of the conspiracy, he refused, at first, to enlist slaves, who had flocked to him in great numbers; but, on the approach of the consul who was sent against him, and the arrival of the news that his confederates were put to death in Rome, the face of his affairs was entirely changed. His first attempt was, therefore, by long marches, to make his escape, over the Appenines, into Gaul; but in this, his hopes were disappointed, all the passes being strictly guarded by an army under Metellus, superior to his own. Thus hemmed in on every side, and seeing all things desperate, with nothing left him but either to conquer or die, he determined to make one vigorous effort against that army which pursued him. Antonius, the consul, being himself sick, the command devolved upon his lieutenant, Petreius; who, after a fierce and sanguinary action, in which he lost a considerable part of his best troops, put Catiline's forces to the rout, and destroyed his whole army, which fought desperately to the last man.

The extinction of this conspiracy seemed only to leave an open theatre, in which the ambition of the great might display itself. Pompey now returned in triumph from conquering the East, as he had before been victorious in Europe and Africa. Crassus, as it has been already observed, was the richest man in Rome, and next to him possessed of the greatest authority: his party in the senate was stronger than even that of Pompey, his rival; and the envy excited against him was less. They had been long disunited by an opposition of interests and of character; however, it was from a continuance of their mutual jealousies, that the state was in some measure to expect its future safety.

It was in this situation of things, that Julius Cæsar, who had lately gone prætor into Spain, and had returned with great riches and glory, resolved to convert this opposition to his own advantage. This celebrated man was nephew to Marius, by the female line, and descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome; he had already mounted by the regular gradations of office, having been quæstor, ædile, grand pontiff, and prætor in Spain. Being descended from popular ancestors, he warmly espoused the side of the people; and, shortly after the death of Sylla, procured those whom he had banished to be recalled. He invariably declared for the populace against the senate, and, by this, became their most favourite magistrate. This consummate statesman began by first offering his services to Pompey, promising his aid in having all his acts passed, notwithstanding the opposition of the senate. Pompey, pleased

at the acquisition of a person of so much merit, readily granted him his confidence and protection. He next applied to Crassus, who, from former connexions, was disposed to become still more nearly his friend. At length, finding neither of them averse to a union of interests, he took an opportunity of bringing them together; and, remonstrating on the advantage, as well as the necessity, of a reconciliation, he had address sufficient, to persuade them to forget their animosities. A combination was thus formed, by which the three agreed that nothing should be done in the commonwealth, but what had received their mutual concurrence and approbation. This was called the First Triumvirate; by which, we find the constitution weakened by a new interest, very different from that either of the senate or the people, and yet dependent upon both.

CHAPTER XX.

From the beginning of the First Triumvirate, to the death of Pompey.

U. C. 694. THE first thing Cæsar did upon the formation of the triumvirate, was to avail himself of the interest of his confederates, to obtain the consulship. The senate had still some influence left; and though they were obliged to concur in the election, yet they gave him for a colleague one Bibulus, whom they supposed would be a check upon his power: but the opposition was too strong even for superior abilities to resist; so that Bibulus, after a slight attempt in favour of the senate, remained inactive. Cæsar began his schemes for empire, by ingratiating himself with the people; he procured a law for dividing certain lands in Campania amongst such of the poor citizens as had at least three children. This proposal was just enough in itself, and criminal only from the views of the proposer.

Having thus strengthened himself at home, he next deliberated with his confederates about sharing the foreign provinces amongst them. The partition was soon made: Pompey chose Spain:—fatigued with conquest, and satiated with military fame, he wished to be convenient to the pleasures afforded in Rome. Crassus fixed upon Syria, for his part of the empire; which province, as it had hitherto enriched the generals who had subdued it, would, he hoped, gratify him in his most fa-

avourite pursuit. To Cæsar, was left the province of Gaul, inhabited by many fierce and powerful nations, most of them unsubdued, and the rest only professing a nominal subjection. Wherefore, as it was appointing him rather to conquer, than command, this government was granted him for five years; as if, by its continuance, to compensate for its danger.

It would be impossible, in this narrow compass, to enumerate all the battles that Cæsar fought, and the states that he subdued, in his expeditions into Gaul and Britain; which continued eight years. The Helvetians were the first brought into subjection, with the loss of nearly two-hundred-thousand men. Those who remained after the carnage, were sent by Cæsar into the forests from which they had issued. The Germans, commanded by Ariovistus, were next cut off; their monarch himself narrowly escaping, in a little boat, across the Rhine. The Belgæ suffered so severely, that marshes and deep rivers were rendered passable from the heaps of slain. The Nervians, who were the most warlike of those barbarous nations, opposed for a short time, and fell upon the Romans with such fury, that their army was in danger of being utterly routed; but Cæsar himself, hastily seizing a buckler, rushed through his army into the midst of the enemy; by which means, he so turned the fate of the day, that the barbarians were all cut off, to a man. The Celtic Gauls, who were powerful at sea, were next brought under subjection; and after them, the Stanni, the Menapii, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the British sea. Unsatiated, as yet, with conquest, he crossed over to Britain, under pretence that the natives had furnished his enemies with supplies. On approaching the coast, he found it covered with men, to oppose his landing; and his forces were in danger of being driven back, until the standard bearer of the tenth legion boldly leaped ashore, and being well assisted by Cæsar, the natives were put to flight. The Britains, being terrified at Cæsar's power, sent to request a peace; which was granted them, and some hostages were delivered. A storm, however, soon afterwards, destroying a great part of his fleet, they resolved to take advantage of the disaster, and marched against him with a powerful army. But what could a naked, undisciplined people, do, against forces exercised under the greatest generals, and hardened by the conquest of the greater part of the known world? Being overthrown, they were obliged, once more, to sue for peace; which Cæsar granted them, and then returned to the continent.

Thus, in less than nine years, he conquered, together with

Britain, (the conquest of which was rather nominal than real,) all that country which extends from the Mediterranean to the German sea.

Whilst Cæsar was thus increasing his reputation and his riches abroad, Pompey, who remained all the time in Rome, steadily co-operated with his ambition; and advanced the interest of his rival, whilst he vainly supposed he was forwarding his own. By his means, Cæsar was continued five years longer in Gaul; nor was he roused from his lethargy, until the fame of that great commander's valour, riches, and humanity, began secretly to give him pain, and make him fear that Cæsar's glory would eclipse his own; because, being more recent, his achievements were more the subject of discourse. He now, therefore, used the utmost exertions to diminish his reputation; obliging the magistrates not to publish any letters received from him, until he had diminished their credit, by spreading disadvantageous reports. One or two accidents also helped to widen the separation;—the death of Julia, Pompey's wife, who had not a little contributed to improve the harmony that had subsisted between them; also the destruction of Crassus, who had conducted the war against the Parthians with so little prudence, that he suffered the enemy to gain the advantage over him, in almost every skirmish; and, incapable of extricating himself from the difficulties in which he was involved, had fallen a sacrifice to his own rashness; being killed, bravely defending himself to the last.

Cæsar, now sensible of the jealousies of Pompey, took occasion to solicit for the consulship, together with a prolongation of his government in Gaul; desirous of trying whether his rival would thwart or promote his pretensions. In this, Pompey seemed to be quite inactive; but, at the same time, he privately employed two of his creatures, who alleged, in the senate, that the laws did not permit a person who was absent, to offer himself as a candidate for that high office. Pompey's view in this, was to allure Cæsar from his government, in order to stand for the consulship in person. Cæsar, however, perceiving his artifice, chose to remain in his province; convinced that whilst he headed such an army as was then devoted to his interest, he could, at any time, give laws, as well as magistrates, to his country.

The senate, who were now devoted to Pompey, because he had for some time attempted to defend them from the encroachments of the people, ordered home the two legions at that time in Cæsar's army, belonging to Pompey; under pre-

tence of opposing the Parthians, but in reality to diminish Cæsar's power. He easily saw their motive; but, as his plans were not yet ready for execution, he sent them home, in pursuance of the orders of the senate; having previously attached, by his liberality, both officers and privates, to his interest. The next step taken by the senate, was to recall him from his government; his time having now nearly expired. But Curio, his friend in the senate, proposed, that Cæsar should not leave his army until Pompey had set him the example. This for a while perplexed the latter: however, during the debate, one of the senate declaring that Cæsar had passed the Alps, and that he was marching, with his whole army, directly towards Rome, the consul, immediately quitting the senate, proceeded, with his colleague, to a house without the city, where Pompey at that time resided. He there presented him with a sword; commanding him to march against Cæsar, and fight in defence of the commonwealth. Pompey declared that he was ready to obey; but, with an air of pretended moderation, added, that it was only in case more gentle expedients could not be employed with success. Cæsar, though still in Gaul, was instructed, by his partisans at Rome, in all that passed; and, being anxious to give his proceedings every appearance of justice, offered to resign his employment, when Pompey would do the same. But the senate rejected all his propositions; blindly confident of their own power, and relying on the assurances of Pompey. Cæsar, still unwilling to come to an open rupture with the state, proposed for the government of Illyria, with only two legions: but this also was refused him. Now, therefore, finding all hopes of an accommodation fruitless, and conscious, if not of the goodness of his cause, at least of the goodness of his troops, he began to draw them down towards the confines of Italy. Then, passing the Alps, with his third legion, he stopped at Ravenna, a city of Cisalpine Gaul; and once more wrote a letter to the consuls, declaring that he was ready to resign all command, in case Pompey would follow his example. On the other hand, the senate decreed that Cæsar should lay down his government, and disband his forces, within a limited time; and, if he refused obedience, that he should be declared an enemy to the commonwealth.

Cæsar, however, seemed no way disturbed at these violent proceedings: the night before his intended expedition into Italy, he sat down to table, cheerfully conversing with his friends on subjects of philosophy and literature, and apparently disengaged from every ambitious concern. After some time, rising up, he

desired the company to make themselves happy in his absence; and said that he would be with them in a moment: in the mean time, having ordered his chariot to be prepared, he immediately set out, attended by a few friends, for Arminium, a city upon the confines of Italy, to which place he had despatched a part of his army the morning before. This journey, by night, which was very fatiguing, he performed with great diligence, sometimes on foot, and sometimes on horseback. At the break of day, he came up with his army, which consisted of about five-thousand men, near the Rubicon, a little river which separates Italy from Gaul, and was the limit of his command.

The Romans had always been taught to consider this river as the sacred boundary of their domestic empire: Cæsar, therefore, when he advanced at the head of his army to the side of the river, stopped short upon the banks, as if impressed with terror at the greatness of his enterprise; he pondered for some time in fixed melancholy, looking upon the river, and debating with himself, whether he should venture in:—"If I pass this river," says he, to one of his generals who stood by him, "what miseries shall I bring upon my country! and, if I now stop short, I am undone." Thus saying, and resuming all his former alacrity, he plunged in; crying out, that the die was cast, and all was now over. His soldiers followed him with equal promptitude; and, quickly arriving at Arminium, made themselves masters of the place, without meeting any resistance.

This unexpected movement excited the utmost terror in Rome; every one imagining that Cæsar was leading his army to lay the city in ruins. At the same time, were to be seen, the citizens flying into the country for safety, and the inhabitants of the country seeking shelter in Rome. In this universal confusion, Pompey felt all that repentance and self condemnation, which must necessarily arise from the remembrance of having advanced his rival to his present pitch of power; wherever he appeared, many of his former friends were ready to tax him with his supineness, and sarcastically to reproach his ill-grounded presumption. "Where is, now," cried Favonius, a ridiculous senator of his party, "the army that is to rise at your command? Let us see if it will appear by stamping." Cato reminded him of the many warnings he had given him; to which, however, as he was continually boding nothing but calamities, Pompey might very justly be excused attending. But, at length, wearied with these reproaches, which were offered under colour of advice, he did all that lay in his power to

encourage and confirm his followers: he told them that they should not want an army, for that he would be their leader. He confessed, indeed, that he had invariably mistaken Cæsar's aims, judging of them only by what they ought to be; however, if his friends were still inspired with the love of freedom, they might yet enjoy it, in any place to which their necessities should happen to conduct them. He informed them, that their affairs were in a very promising situation; that his two lieutenants were at the head of a very considerable army in Spain, composed of veteran troops, who had made the conquest of the East: besides these, there were infinite resources, both in Asia and Africa, together with the succours which they were sure of receiving from all the kingdoms in alliance with Rome. This speech served, in some measure, to revive the hopes of the confederacy: the greater part of the senate, his own private friends and dependants, together with all those who expected to make their fortunes in his cause, agreed to follow him. Being incapable of resisting his opponent at home, he resolved to lead his forces to Capua, where he commanded the two legions which served under Cæsar in Gaul.

Cæsar, in the mean time, after having in vain attempted to bring Pompey to an accommodation, determined to pursue him into Capua, before he could collect his army. Accordingly, he marched on, to take possession of the cities that lay between him and his rival; not regarding Rome, which he knew would fall, of course, to the conqueror.

Corsinum was the first city that attempted to stop the rapidity of his march. It was defended by Domitius, who had been appointed by the senate to succeed him in Gaul, and was garrisoned by twenty cohorts, levied in the countries adjacent. Cæsar, however, quickly invested it; and, though Domitius sent frequently to Pompey, exhorting him to come and raise the siege, he was at last obliged to attempt making his escape privately. His intentions happening to be divulged, the garrison resolved to consult their own safety, by delivering him up to the besiegers. Cæsar readily accepted their offers, but restrained his men from immediately entering the town. After some time, Lentulus, the consul, who was one of the besieged, came out, to implore forgiveness for himself and the rest of the confederates: putting Cæsar in mind of their former friendship, and acknowledging the many favours he had received at his hands. To this, Cæsar, who would not wait the conclusion of his speech, generously answered, that he came into Italy, not to injure the liberties of Rome, but to restore them, and to pro

tect its citizens. This humane reply being quickly carried into the city, the senators and the knights, with their children, and some officers of the garrison, came out to claim the conqueror's protection; who, just glancing at their ingratitude, gave them their liberty, with permission to go wherever they should think proper. However, whilst he dismissed the leaders, he, upon this, as upon all similar occasions, took care to attach the common soldiers to his own interest; sensible that he might stand in need of an army, but that whilst he lived, his army could never stand in need of a commander.

Pompey, who was unable to continue in Capua, having intelligence of what passed on this occasion, immediately retreated to Brundisium, where he resolved on standing a siege, to retard the enemy, until the forces of the empire should be united to oppose him. His aim, in this, succeeded to his wish; and, after having employed Cæsar for some time in a fruitless attack, he privately passed his forces over to Dyrrachium, where the consul had levied a body of forces for his assistance. However, though he effected his escape, he was compelled to leave the whole kingdom of Italy at the mercy of his rival; without either a town or an army that had strength to oppose his progress.

Cæsar, finding that he could not follow Pompey, having no shipping, went back to Rome, to take possession of the public treasures; which, his opponent, by a most unaccountable oversight, had neglected to carry with him. However, upon his advancing as far as the door of the treasury, Metellus, the tribune who guarded it, refused to let him pass: but Cæsar, with more than usual emotion, laying his hand upon his sword, threatened to strike him dead; "And know, young man," cried he, "that it is easier to do this, than to say it." This menace had the desired effect; Metellus retired, and Cæsar took out of the treasury three-thousand pounds weight of gold, besides an immense quantity of silver.

Having thus provided for continuing the war, he departed from Rome; resolved to subdue Pompey's lieutenants, Afranius and Petreius, who had been long in Spain at the head of a veteran army, composed of the choicest legions of the empire, and which had been invariably victorious, under all its commanders. Cæsar, however, who knew the abilities of its two present generals, jocosely said, as he was preparing to go thither, that he was going to fight an army without a general, and, upon conquering it, would return to fight a general without an army.

The first conflict with Afranius and Petreius, was rather unfavourable. It was fought near the city of Herda; and both sides claimed the honour of the victory. But, by various stratagems, he reduced them at last to such extremity of drought and hunger, that they were obliged to yield at discretion. Clemency was his favourite virtue: he dismissed them all with the kindest professions, and sent them home laden with shame and obligations, to publish his virtues, and confirm the affections of his adherents. Thus, in the space of about forty days, he became master of all Spain, and returned again victorious to Rome. The citizens on this occasion received him with fresh demonstrations of joy, and created him dictator and consul; but the first of these offices he laid down, after he had held it eleven days.

Whilst Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey was equally assiduous in making preparations in Epirus and Greece, to oppose him. All the monarchs of the east had declared in his favour, and sent very large supplies. He was master of nine effective Italian legions, and had a fleet of five-hundred large ships, under the conduct of Bibulus, an active and experienced commander. Added to these, he was supplied with large sums of money, and all the necessaries for an army, from the tributary provinces around him. He had attacked Antony (properly called Marcus Antonius) and Dolabella, who commanded for Cæsar in that part of the empire, with so great success, that the former was obliged to fly, and the latter taken prisoner. Crowds of distinguished citizens and nobles from Rome, came every day, to join him. He had, at one time, in his camp, above two-hundred senators; amongst whom, were Cicero and Cato, whose approbation alone was equivalent to an army.

Notwithstanding these preparations, Cæsar shipped off five of his twelve legions at Brundisium, and, weighing anchor, fortunately steered through the midst of his enemies; timing it so well, that he made his passage in one day. Still, however, convinced that the proper juncture for making proposals for a peace, was after having gained an advantage, he sent one Rufus, whom he had taken prisoner, to effect an accommodation with Pompey; offering to refer all to the senate and people of Rome: but he once more rejected the overture, maintaining that the people were too much in Cæsar's interest, to be relied on.

Pompey had been raising supplies in Macedonia, when first informed of Cæsar's landing upon the coast of Epirus: he now therefore resolved to march immediately to Dyrrachium, in

order to cover that place from Cæsar's attempts; as all his ammunition and provisions were deposited there. The two armies first came in sight of each other on the opposite banks of the river Apsus: and, as both were commanded by the two greatest generals then in the world, the one renowned for his conquest of the East, the other for his victories in the West, a battle was eagerly desired, by the soldiers on each side: but neither of the generals was willing to hazard it, on this occasion: Pompey could not rely upon his new levies, and Cæsar would not venture an engagement, until joined by the rest of his forces.

Cæsar had now waited some time, with extreme impatience, for the arrival of the remainder of his army; and even ventured out alone, in an open fishing boat, to hasten its arrival; but was driven back by a storm. However, his disappointment was soon relieved, by information of the landing of the troops he had long expected, at Appolonia; from which place, they were marching to join him, under the conduct of Antony and Calpurnus. He therefore decamped, in order to meet them, and prevent Pompey from engaging them on their march; as he lay on that side of the river, where the reinforcements had been obliged to land.

Pompey, being compelled to retreat, led his forces to Asparagus, near Dyrrachium, where he was certain of being supplied with every thing necessary for his army, by the numerous fleets employed by him along the coasts of Epirus. There, he pitched his camp upon a tongue of land (as mariners express it) which jutted into the sea, where also was a small harbour for ships, in which but few winds could annoy them. Being most advantageously situated, he immediately began to intrench his camp. Cæsar, perceiving this, and supposing that he was not likely soon to quit so desirable a post, began also to entrench, behind him; and, as all beyond Pompey's camp, towards the land side, was hilly and steep, he built redoubts upon the heights, stretching round from shore to shore, and then caused lines of communication to be drawn from hill to hill; by which, he blocked up the camp of the enemy. He hoped, by this blockade, to force his opponent to a battle; which he ardently desired, and which the other with equal industry, declined. Thus, both sides continued, for some time, employed in stratagems; the one, to annoy, the other, to defend. Cæsar's men daily carried on their works, to straiten the enemy: those of Pompey did the same, to enlarge themselves, having the advantage of numbers; and severely galled

the adversary, by their slingers and archers. Cæsar, however, was indefatigable; he procured blinds or mantelets, made of skins, to cover his men whilst at work; and cut off all the water that supplied the enemy's camp, and the forage from his horses. But Pompey, at last, resolved to break through his lines, and gain some other part of the country, more convenient for encampment. Accordingly, having received information of the state of Cæsar's fortifications, from some deserters who came over to him, he ordered his light infantry and archers on board the ships; with orders to attack the enemy's entrenchments by sea, where they were the least defended. This was done so effectually, that, though Cæsar and his officers used their utmost endeavours to counteract Pompey's designs, yet the latter at length gained his purpose of extricating his army from his former station, and encamping in another place, by the sea, where he had the convenience both of forage and of shipping. Cæsar, thus frustrated in his views of blockading the enemy, resolved at last to force Pompey to a battle, though upon disadvantageous terms. A skirmish took place, in attempting to cut off a legion posted in a wood; and this brought on a general engagement. The conflict was for some time carried on with great ardour, and with equal fortune; but Cæsar's men, being entangled in the intrenchments of the old camp, began to fall into disorder; upon which, Pompey pressing his advantage, they at last fled with great precipitation. Vast numbers perished in the trenches, and on the banks of the rivers, or were pressed to death by their followers. Pompey pursued his successes to the very camp of Cæsar; but, either surprised by the suddenness of his victory, or fearful of an ambuscade, he drew off his troops within his own lines, and thus lost an opportunity of securing his victory.

After this defeat, which was by no means decisive, Cæsar marched with all his forces, in one body, directly to Gomphi, a town in the province of Thessaly. But the news of his defeat at Dyrrachium, had reached this place before him: the inhabitants, therefore, who had promised him obedience, now changed their minds; and, with a degree of baseness equal to their imprudence, shut their gates against him. But Cæsar was not to be injured with impunity. Having represented to his soldiers the great advantage of forcing a place so very rich, he ordered the machines for scaling to be made ready; and, causing an assault, proceeded with so much vigour, that, notwithstanding the great height of the walls, the town was taken in a few hours. Cæsar left it to be plundered; and, without

delaying his march, went forward to Metropolis, another town of the same province, which yielded at his approach. By these means, he soon became possessed of all Thessaly, except Larissa; which was garrisoned by Scipio, who commanded for Pompey, and had his own legion under him. During this interval, Pompey's officers were continually soliciting him to come to a battle, and incessantly teasing him with their importunities; he therefore resolved to renounce his own judgment, in compliance with those about him, and to give up all schemes of prudence, for those dictated by avarice and passion. Wherefore, advancing into Thessaly, within a few days after the taking of Gomphi, he descended into the plains of Pharsalia, where he was joined by Scipio, his lieutenant, with the troops under his command. There, he waited the arrival of Cæsar; determined upon engaging, and deciding the fate of the empire, at a single battle.

Cæsar had employed all his art, for some time, in discovering the inclination of his men; and, finding his army once more resolute and vigorous, he caused them to advance towards the plains of Pharsalia, where Pompey was then encamped, and prepared to oppose him.

The approach of these two great armies, composed of the best and bravest troops in the world, together with the greatness of the prize for which they contended, filled all minds with anxiety, though with different expectations. Pompey's army, being the more numerous, turned all their thoughts to the enjoyment of the victory; Cæsar's, very prudently, considered only the means of obtaining it: Pompey's army depended on their numbers, and their many generals; Cæsar's upon their own discipline, and the conduct of their single commander: Pompey's partisans hoped much from the justice of their cause; Cæsar alleged the frequent proposals which he had made for peace, without effect. Thus, the views, hopes, and motives, of each, seemed different; but their hatred and ambition were the same. Cæsar, who was always foremost in offering battle, led out his army, in array, to meet the enemy; but Pompey, either suspecting his troops, or dreading the event, for some time held his advantageous situation: he drew, indeed, occasionally out of his camp, but always remained under his trenches, at the foot of the hill, near which he was posted. Cæsar, unwilling to attack him at a disadvantage, resolved to decamp the next day; hoping to harass out his antagonist, who was not a match for him in sustaining the fatigues of duty.

Accordingly, the order for marching was given, and the tents struck, when information was brought him, that Pompey's army had left their intrenchments, and advanced farther than usual into the plain; so that he might engage them at less disadvantage. He therefore ordered his troops to halt; and, with a countenance of joy, informed them, that the happy time was at last arrived, for which they had so long wished; and which was to crown their glory, and terminate their fatigues. Upon this, he drew up his troops in order, and advanced towards the place of battle. His forces did not number above half those of Pompey: the army of the one amounting to above forty-five-thousand foot, and seven-thousand horse; that of the other not exceeding twenty-two thousand foot, and about a thousand horse. This disproportion, particularly in the cavalry, had filled Cæsar with apprehensions; wherefore he had some days before selected the strongest and nimblest of his foot-soldiers, and accustomed them to fight between the ranks of his cavalry. By their assistance, his thousand horse was a match for Pompey's seven-thousand; and had actually prevailed, in a skirmish, some days before.

Pompey, on the other hand, had strong expectations of success: he boasted that he could put Cæsar's legions to flight, without striking a single blow; presuming, that as soon as the armies should be formed, his cavalry, on which he placed his greatest expectations, would outflank and surround the enemy. Labienus commended this scheme of Pompey; alleging also, that the troops, of which Cæsar's army was at present composed, were but the shadow of those old legions which had fought in Britain and Gaul: that all the veterans were worn out, and replaced by new levies, made in Cisalpine Gaul. To increase the confidence of the army still more, he took an oath, in which the rest followed him, never to return to the camp, but with victory. In this disposition, and under these advantages, Pompey led out his troops.

His order of battle was good and well judged. In the centre and on the two flanks, he placed all the veterans, and distributed his newly raised troops between the wings and the main body. The Syrian legions were placed in the centre, under the command of Scipio: the Spaniards, on whom he greatly relied, were put on the right, under Domitius Ænobarbus; and on the left, were stationed the two legions which Cæsar had restored in the beginning of the war, led on by Pompey himself; because, from that wing he intended to make the attack which

was to gain the day; and, for the same reason, he had there assembled all his horse, slingers, and archers, of which his right wing had no need, being covered by the river Enipeus.

Cæsar, likewise, divided his army into three bodies: Domitius Calvinus commanded in the centre, and Mark Antony on the left; whilst he himself led on the right wing, which was to oppose the left, under the command of Pompey. It is remarkable, that Pompey chose to put himself at the head of those troops which were disciplined by Cæsar; an incontestible proof how much he valued them, above any of the rest of his army. Cæsar, on the contrary, placed himself at the head of his tenth legion, which was indebted for all its merit and fame to his own training. As he observed the enemy's numerous cavalry to be all drawn to one spot, he anticipated Pompey's intentions; to resist the effects of which, he made a draught of six cohorts from his rear line; and, forming them into a separate body, concealed them behind his right wing, with instructions not to throw their javelins on the approach of Pompey's horse, as it was customary, but to keep them in their hands, and push them directly in the faces and the eyes of the horsemen; who, being composed of the younger part of the Roman nobility, valued themselves much upon their beauty, and dreaded a scar on the face, more than a wound on the body. He lastly placed his cavalry so as to cover the right of the tenth legion, ordering his third line not to march, until they had received the signal from him.

As the armies approached, the two generals went from rank to rank, encouraging their men, warming their hopes, and lessening their apprehensions. Pompey represented that the glorious opportunity which they had so long desired, was now before them: "And indeed," cried he, "what advantage could you wish over an enemy, that you are not now possessed of? Your numbers, your vigour, your late victory, all assure a speedy and an easy conquest of those harassed and broken troops, composed of men worn out with age, and impressed with the terrors of a recent defeat: but, there is still a stronger bulwark for our protection, than our superiority—the justice of our cause. You are engaged in the defence of liberty, and of your country; you are supported by its laws and followed by its magistrates; you have the world spectators of your conduct, and wishing you success: on the contrary, he whom you oppose, is a robber and an oppressor of his country, and almost already sunk by the consciousness of his crimes, as well as the bad success of his arms. Show, then, on this occasion, all

that ardour, and detestation of tyranny, which should animate Romans; and do justice to mankind.”

Cæsar, on his side, went amongst his men with that steady serenity for which he was so much admired in the midst of danger. He insisted on nothing so strongly to his soldiers, as his frequent and unsuccessful endeavours for peace. He spoke with terror of the blood he was going to shed; and only pleaded the necessity which urged him. He deplored the many brave men that were to fall, on both sides; and the wounds of his country, whoever should be victorious. His soldiers answered his speech with looks of ardour and impatience; which, observing, he gave the signal to begin. The word on Pompey's side was Hercules the invincible—that on Cæsar's, Venus the victorious. There was only so much space between both armies, as to give room for fighting; wherefore Pompey ordered his men to receive the first shock without moving out of their places; expecting the enemy's ranks would be put into disorder by their motion.—Cæsar's soldiers were now rushing on with their usual impetuosity, when, perceiving the enemy motionless, they all stopped short, as if by general consent, and halted in the midst of their career. A terrible pause ensued; in which, both armies continued to gaze upon each other, with mutual terror and dreadful serenity. At length, Cæsar's men having taken breath, ran furiously upon the enemy; first discharging their javelins, and then drawing their swords. The same method was observed by Pompey's troops; who as vigorously sustained the attack. His cavalry also were ordered to charge, at the very onset; which, with the multitude of archers and slingers, soon obliged Cæsar's men to give ground: whereupon Cæsar immediately ordered the six cohorts, placed as a reserve, to advance; with orders to strike at the enemy's faces. This had the desired effect: the cavalry, that were but just now sure of victory, received an immediate check; the unusual method of fighting pursued by the cohorts, their aiming entirely at the visages of their assailants, and the horribly disfiguring wounds they made, all contributed so much to intimidate them, that, instead of defending their persons, their only endeavour was to save their faces. A total rout ensued, of their whole body; which fled in great disorder to the neighbouring mountain; whilst the archers and slingers who were thus abandoned, were cut to pieces. Cæsar, now commanding the cohorts to pursue their success, and advancing himself, charged Pompey's troops upon the flank: a charge, which the enemy withstood for some time, with great bravery,

until he brought up his third line, which had not yet engaged. Pompey's infantry, being thus doubly attacked—in front by fresh troops, and in the rear by the victorious cohorts, could no longer resist, but fled to their camp. The flight began amongst the strangers; though Pompey's right wing still valiantly maintained its ground. Cæsar, however, being convinced that the victory was certain, with his usual clemency, cried out, to pursue the strangers, but to spare the Romans: upon which, they all laid down their arms, and received quarter. The greatest slaughter was amongst the auxiliaries, who fled on all sides, but principally went for safety to the camp. The battle had now lasted from the break of day till noon; the weather being extremely hot: nevertheless, the conquerors did not remit their ardour, being encouraged by the example of their general; who thought his victory not complete, until he was master of the enemy's camp. Accordingly, marching on foot at their head, he called upon them to follow, and strike the decisive blow. The cohorts for some time made a formidable resistance; and particularly a large number of Thracians and other barbarians who were left in the camp, for its defence: but nothing could withstand the ardour of Cæsar's victorious army: they were at last driven from their trenches, and all fled to the adjacent mountains.

Cæsar, seeing the field and camp strewed with his fallen countrymen, was strongly affected at so melancholy a spectacle; and could not avoid crying out, to one who stood near him, "They would have it so."

On entering the enemy's camp, every object presented fresh instances of the blind presumption and madness of his adversaries: on all sides, were to be seen, tents adorned with ivy and branches of myrtle, couches covered with purple, and sideboards loaded with plate. Every thing indicated the highest luxury; and seemed rather the preparations for a banquet, the rejoicings for a victory, than the dispositions for a battle. A camp, so richly furnished, might have engaged the attention of any troops, except Cæsar's; but there was still something to be done; and he would not permit them to pursue any other object than their enemies, until they were entirely subdued. A considerable body of these having retired to the adjacent hills; he prevailed on his soldiers to join him in the pursuit, in order to oblige them to surrender. He began by enclosing them with a line drawn at the foot of the mountain; but they quickly abandoned a post that was not tenable for want of water, and endeavoured to reach the city of Larissa. Cæsar

led a division of his army by a shorter way, and intercepted their retreat; drawing up in order of battle between them and the city. However, these unhappy fugitives once more found protection from a mountain; at the foot of which ran a rivulet, which supplied them with water. Now, night approaching, Cæsar's men were almost spent, and ready to faint with their incessant toil since morning; yet he prevailed upon them once more to renew their labours, and to cut off the rivulet which supplied the defendants. The fugitives, thus deprived of all hopes of succour or subsistence, sent deputies to the conqueror, offering to surrender at discretion. During this interval of negotiation, a few senators who were amongst them, took advantage of the night to escape: the rest, next morning, gave up their arms, and experienced the conqueror's clemency. He addressed them with great gentleness, and forbade his soldiers to offer them any violence, or to take any thing from them.

Thus, Cæsar, by his conduct, gained the most complete victory that had ever been acquired; and, by his clemency after the battle, seems to have deserved it. His loss was only two-hundred men; that of Pompey, fifteen-thousand, Romans and auxiliaries: twenty-four-thousand men surrendered themselves prisoners of war; the greater part of whom entered into Cæsar's army. The senators and Roman knights who fell into his hands, he generously allowed to retire, wherever they thought proper: and the letters received by Pompey from the several persons who wished to be thought neutral, he burned, without reading; as Pompey had done, on a former occasion. Thus, having performed all the duties of a general and a statesman, he sent for the legions which had passed the night in the camp, to relieve those which had accompanied him in the pursuit; and arrived the same day at Larissa.

Pompey, who had formerly displayed so great courage and ability, when he saw his cavalry routed, on which he had placed his whole dependence, seemed to have lost his reason. Instead of endeavouring to remedy this disorder, by rallying those troops that fled, or by opposing fresh forces to stop the progress of the conquerors, being totally amazed at his first blow, he returned to the camp, and in his tent waited the issue of an affair, which it was his duty to direct, not to follow. There, he remained for some moments without speaking; till being told that the camp was attacked, "What," says he, "are we pursued to our very intrenchments?" and, immediately changing his armour for a habit more suitable to his circumstances, he fled on horseback to Larissa; then, seeing that he

was not pursued, he slackened his pace; giving way to all the agonizing reflections which his deplorable condition must naturally have suggested. In this melancholy manner, he passed along the vale of Tempe; and pursuing the river Peneus, at last arrived at a fisherman's hut, in which he spent the night. Thence, he went on board a little vessel; and, keeping along the sea-shore, he descried a ship of some burthen, which seemed preparing to sail, in which he embarked; the master of the vessel still paying him the homage due to his former station. From the mouth of the river Peneus, he sailed to Amphipolis; where, finding his affairs desperate, he steered to Lesbos, to take in his wife Cornelia, whom he had left there, at a distance from the dangers and hurry of the war. She, who had long flattered herself with the hopes of victory, felt the reverse of fortune in an agony of distress. The messenger, whose tears, more than words, proclaimed the greatness of her misfortunes, desired her to hasten, if she expected to see Pompey with even one ship, and that not his own. Her grief which before was violent, became now insupportable: she fainted, and lay a considerable time without any signs of life. At length, recovering, and reflecting that it was then no time for vain lamentations, she ran quite through the city, to the sea-side. Pompey silently embraced her, and for some time supported her in his arms, in fixed despair.

Accompanied by Cornelia, he now continued his course, steering to the south-east; and, stopping at the ports which occurred in his passage no longer than was necessary to take in provisions. He was at last prevailed on to apply to Ptolemæus (usually called Ptolemy,) king of Egypt; to whose father, Pompey had been a considerable benefactor. Ptolemy, who was yet a minor, had not the government in his own hands; he and his kingdom being under the direction of Photinus, a eunuch, and Theodotus, a professor of eloquence. They advised that Pompey should be invited on shore, and assassinated; and accordingly, Achillas, the commander of the forces, and Septimius, by birth a Roman, who had formerly been a centurion in Pompey's army, were appointed to carry their designs into execution. Attended by three or four assistants, they went into a little bark, and rowed off from the land, towards Pompey's ship, which lay about a mile from the shore. Pompey, after having taken leave of Cornelia, and repeated two verses from Sophocles, signifying, that he who trusts his freedom to a tyrant, from that moment becomes a slave, stepped

into the bark, with only two attendants of his own. They had now rowed some distance from the ship; during which time, they had all observed a profound silence: Pompey, therefore, wishing to begin the discourse, accosted Septimius, whose face he recollected. "Methinks, friend," cried he, "you and I were once fellow soldiers together." Septimius gave only a nod with his head, without uttering a word, or showing the least civility. Pompey then took out a paper on which he had minuted a speech he intended to make to the king; and began reading it. In this manner, they approached the shore; and Cornelia, whose concern had never suffered her to lose sight of her husband, began to entertain hope when she saw the people crowding down along the coasts, as if willing to receive him: but her hopes were soon destroyed—that instant, as Pompey rose, supporting himself upon his freedman's arm, Septimius stabbed him in the back, and was instantly seconded by Achilles. Pompey, perceiving his death inevitable, only disposed himself to meet it with decency; and, covering his face with his robe, without uttering a word, with a sigh resigned himself to his fate. At this horrid sight, Cornelia shrieked so loud, as to be heard upon the shore; but the danger she herself was in, did not allow the mariners time to look on: they immediately set sail, and the wind proving favourable, fortunately they escaped the pursuit of the Egyptian galleys.

In the meantime, Pompey's murderers, having cut off his head, caused it to be embalmed, the better to preserve the features; designing it for a present to Cæsar. The body was then thrown upon the strand, exposed to the curiosity of the multitude. However, his faithful freedman, Philip, still remained near it; and, when the crowd had dispersed, he washed it in the sea; then looking around for materials to burn it, he perceived the wreck of a fishing boat, with which he made a pile. Whilst he was thus piously employed, he was accosted by an old Roman soldier, who had served under Pompey, in his youth: "Who art thou," said he, "that art making these humble preparations for Pompey's funeral?" Philip having answered that he was one of his freedmen: "Alas," replied the soldier, "permit me to share in this honour also: amidst all the miseries of my exile, it will be my last sad comfort, that I have been able to assist at the funeral of my old commander, and touch the body of the bravest general that ever Rome produced." Both joined in giving his remains the last sad rites: after this, they collected his ashes, and buried them under a little rising

earth, scraped together with their hands; over which, was afterwards placed the following inscription: *He whose merits deserve a temple, can now scarcely find a tomb.*

CHAPTER XXI.

From the destruction of the Commonwealth, to the establishment of the first Emperor, Augustus.

U. C. CÆSAR has been much celebrated for his fortune,
706. and yet his abilities seem equal to his highest success. He possessed many shining qualities, without the mixture of any defect, except ambition. His talents were such, as would have rendered him victorious, at the head of any army he commanded; and he would have governed, in any republic that had given him birth. Having now gained a complete victory, his success seemed only to increase his activity, and inspire him with fresh resolution to face new dangers. He resolved, therefore, to pursue his last advantage, and follow Pompey, to whatever country he should retire; convinced, that during his life, though he might gain new triumphs, he never could enjoy security.

Accordingly, losing no time, he set sail for Egypt, and arrived at Alexandria, with about four thousand men; a very inconsiderable force, to keep so powerful a kingdom in subjection. On landing, the first accounts he received were of Pompey's miserable end; and, soon afterwards, one of the murderers came, with his head and ring, as a most grateful present to the conqueror. But Cæsar had too much humanity, to be pleased with so horrid a spectacle: he turned away from it, with disgust, and, after a short pause, gave vent to his pity, in a flood of tears. Not long afterwards, he ordered a magnificent tomb to be erected to his memory, on the spot where he was murdered; and a temple near the place, to Nemesis, the heathen goddess who punished those who were cruel to men in adversity. It appears that the Egyptians had now some hopes of shaking off the Roman alliance, which they considered, as in fact it was, but a specious subjection. They first began to take offence at Cæsar's carrying before him the ensigns of Roman power, as he entered the city. Photinus, also, treated him with great disrespect, and even attempted his life. Cæsar, however, concealed his resentment, until he had a force suffi-

cient to punish his treachery; and, sending privately for the legions which had formerly been enrolled for Pompey's service, as being the nearest to Egypt, he in the mean time pretended to repose entire confidence in the king's minister; making great entertainments, and assisting at the conferences of the philosophers, who were very numerous at Alexandria. However, when he found himself in no danger from the minister's attempts, he soon changed his manner, and declared, that being Roman consul, it was his duty to settle the succession to the Egyptian crown.

There were, at that time, two pretenders to the throne of Egypt: Ptolemy, the acknowledged king, and the celebrated Cleopatra, his sister; to whom, by a custom of the country, at variance with the Divine law, he was married, and, by their father's will, she shared jointly in the succession. Not contented with a bare participation of power, Cleopatra aimed at governing alone; but, being opposed by the Roman senate, who confirmed her brother's title to the crown, she was banished into Syria, with Arsinoë, her younger sister. Cæsar gave her new hopes of obtaining the kingdom, and summoned both her and her brother to plead their cause before him. Photinus, the young king's guardian, disdained to accept this proposal, and maintained his rejection by sending an army of twenty-thousand men, to besiege him in Alexandria. Cæsar, for some time, bravely repulsed the enemy; but, finding the city of too great extent to be defended by so small an army as he then had, he retired to the palace, which commanded the harbour; where he proposed to make his stand. Achilles, who headed the Egyptians, attacked him there with great vigour; and still aimed at obtaining the fleet which lay before the palace. Cæsar, however, too well knew the value of these ships, in the hands of an enemy; and therefore burned them all, in defiance of every attempt to prevent him. He next took possession of the isle of Pharos, the key to the Alexandrian port; by which he was enabled to receive the supplies sent him from every side; and in this situation he determined to withstand the united force of all the Egyptians.

In the mean time, Cleopatra, having heard of the present change in her favour, resolved to depend for success rather on the assistance of Cæsar, than her own forces. But no arts, as she justly conceived, were so likely to influence him, as the charms of her person; which, though not faultless, were extremely fascinating. She was now in the bloom of youth, and every feature borrowed grace from the lively turn of her tem

per. To the most enchanting address, she joined the most harmonious voice. With all these accomplishments, she possessed a great share of the learning of the times, and could give audience to the ambassadors of seven different nations, without an interpreter. The difficulty was, how to obtain an interview with Cæsar; as her enemies were in possession of all the avenues that led to the palace. For this purpose, she went on board a small vessel, and in the evening landed near the palace; then, being wrapped up in a coverlet, she was carried by one Aspolodorus, into the very chamber of Cæsar. Her address at first pleased him: her wit and understanding still fanned the flame; but her caresses, which proceeded beyond the bounds of innocence, entirely brought him over to espouse her claims.

Whilst Cleopatra was thus employed in forwarding her own views, her sister Arsinoë was also strenuously engaged in the camp, in pursuing a separate interest. She had found means, by the assistance of one Ganymede, her confidant, to make a considerable division in the Egyptian army, in her favour; and, soon afterwards, by one of those sudden revolutions, which are common in barbarian camps to this day, she caused Achilles to be murdered, and Ganymede to take the command in his stead; by whom, the siege was carried on with greater vigour than before.

Ganymede's principal effort was by letting in the sea upon those canals which supplied the palace with fresh water; but Cæsar remedied this inconvenience by digging a great number of wells. His next endeavour was, to prevent the junction of Cæsar's twenty-fourth legion; which he twice attempted in vain. He soon afterwards made himself master of a bridge which joined the Isle of Pharos to the continent; from which post, Cæsar resolved to dislodge him. In the heat of the action, some mariners, partly through curiosity, partly through ambition, came and joined the combatants; but, being seized with a panic, they instantly fled, and produced a general terror through the army. All the endeavours of Cæsar to rally his forces, were fruitless: the confusion was past remedy, and numbers were drowned or put to the sword, in attempting to escape. Now, therefore, seeing the irreparable disorder of his troops, he retired to a ship, in order to reach the palace that was just opposite. However, he was no sooner on board, than great crowds entered the vessel; upon which, apprehensive of her sinking, he leaped into the sea, and swam two-hundred paces to the fleet which lay before the palace; all the

time holding his Commentaries in his left hand, above water, and his coat of mail in his teeth.

The Alexandrians, finding their exertions to take the place ineffectual, endeavoured at least to get their king out of Cæsar's power; as he had secured his person in the beginning of their disputes. For this purpose, they practised their customary dissimulation; professing the utmost desire of peace, and wishing the presence of their lawful prince, only to give a sanction to the treaty. Cæsar, though sensible of their perfidy, concealed his suspicions, and gave them their king; being under no apprehensions from the abilities of a boy. Ptolemy, however, the instant he was set at liberty, instead of promoting peace, made every effort to give vigour to hostilities.

In this manner, Cæsar was hemmed in, for some time, by his artful and insidious enemy, with every difficulty to encounter; but he was at last relieved from this mortifying situation, by Mithridates Pergamenus, one of his most faithful partisans, who came with an army to his assistance. This general, having collected a powerful force in Syria, marched into Egypt, took the city of Pelusium, repulsed the Egyptian army with loss, and at last joining with Cæsar, attacked their camp; making great slaughter of the enemy. Ptolemy himself, attempting to escape on board a vessel then sailing down the river, was drowned by the ship's sinking; and Cæsar thus became master of all Egypt, without any further opposition. He therefore appointed Cleopatra, and her younger brother, then an infant, as joint governors, and drove out Arsinoë, with Ganymede, into banishment.

Having thus given away kingdoms, he now for a while seemed to relax from the usual activity of his conduct; captivated by the charms of Cleopatra. Instead of quitting Egypt for the purpose of terminating the opposition of Pompey's party, he there abandoned himself to his pleasures; passing his time with the young queen in feasting and all the excesses of high wrought luxury. He even resolved to attend her up the Nile, to Æthiopia; but the brave veterans, who had long followed his fortune, boldly censured his conduct, and refused to be partners in so infamous an expedition. Thus, at length, roused from his lethargy, he determined to prefer the call of ambition to that of love; and to leave Cleopatra, (by whom he had a son, afterwards called Cæsario,) in order to oppose Pharnaces, the king of Bosphorus, who had made some inroads upon the dominions of Rome.

This prince, who was the son of the great Mithridates, being

ambitious of recovering his father's dominions, seized upon Armenia and Colchis, and overcame Domitius, who had been sent against him. Upon Cæsar's march to oppose him, Pharnaces, who was as much terrified at the name of the general, as at the strength of his army, laboured, by all the arts of negotiation, to avert the impending danger. Cæsar, exasperated at his crimes and ingratitude, at first dissembled with the ambassadors; and, using all expedition, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, over whom, in a few hours, he obtained a complete victory. Pharnaces attempted to take refuge in his capital, but was killed by one of his own commanders: a just punishment, for his former parricide. Cæsar overthrew him with so much ease, that in writing to a friend in Rome, he expressed the rapidity of his victory, in three words—" *Veni, Vidi, Vici.*" (I came, I saw, I conquer'd.) A man so accustomed to success, thought a slight battle scarcely deserved a longer letter.

Cæsar, having settled affairs in this part of the empire, as well as time would permit, embarked for Italy; where he arrived sooner than his enemies expected, but not before the situation of things absolutely required. During his absence, he had been elected consul for five years, dictator for one year, and tribune of the people for life. But Antony, who in the mean time governed for him, in Rome, had filled the city with riot and debauchery; and many commotions ensued, which nothing but the arrival of Cæsar, so opportunely, could appease. However, by his moderation and humanity, he soon restored tranquillity to the city; scarcely making any distinction between those of his own and the opposite party. Having, by gentle means, regained his authority at home, he prepared to march into Africa, where Pompey's party had found time to rally under Scipio and Cato, assisted by Juba, king of Mauritania; and, with his usual diligence, landed with a small party in Africa, being followed by the rest of his army. Scipio, soon afterwards coming to a battle, received a complete and final overthrow; in consequence of which, Juba and Petreius, his generals, killed each other, in despair. Attempting to escape by sea into Spain, Scipio fell in amongst the enemy, who put him to death; so that, of all the generals of that unfortunate party, Cato was now the only one that remained.

This extraordinary man, whom no prosperity could elate, nor any misfortune depress, having retired into Africa after the battle of Pharsalia, had led the wretched remains of that defeat through burning tracts and deserts, infested with serpents of various malignity, and was now in the city of Utica, which he

had been left to defend. Still, however, in love with even the show of Roman government, he had formed the principal citizens into a senate, and conceived the resolution of defending the town. But the enthusiasm of liberty subsiding amongst his followers, he resolved no longer to force men to be free, who seemed naturally prone to slavery. He now therefore desired some of his companions to save themselves by sea, and bade others rely upon the clemency of Cæsar; observing, that, as to himself, he was at last victorious. After supping cheerfully with his friends, he retired to his apartment; where he behaved with unusual tenderness to his son, and to all around him. When he had come into his bed-chamber, he lay down, and began to read Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the soul; and, after some time, happening to cast his eyes to the head of his bed, he was much surprised not to find his sword there, which had been removed by order of his son, whilst they were at supper. Upon this, calling one of his domestics, to know what was become of it, and receiving no answer, he resumed his studies; but, some time after, asking again for his sword, and perceiving that no one obeyed him, he called his servants, one after the other, and, with a peremptory air, demanded it once more. His son soon afterwards came in, and with tears besought him, in the most humble manner, to change his resolution; but, receiving a stern reprimand, he desisted from his persuasions. His sword being at length brought him, he seemed satisfied; and cried out, "Now, again, I am master of myself." He then took up his book, which he read twice over, and fell into a sound sleep. Upon awaking, he called to one of his freedmen to know if his friends had embarked, or if any thing yet remained that could be done to serve them. The freedman, assuring him that all was quiet, was again ordered to leave the room; and Cato was no sooner alone, than he stabbed himself through the breast, but not with the force he intended; for, the wound not despatching him, he fell upon his bed, and at the same time overturned a table, on which he had been drawing some geometrical figures. At the noise he made in his fall, the servants gave a shriek, and his son and friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels gushed out through the wound. The physician who attended his family, finding that his intestines were uninjured, would have replaced them; but when Cato recovered his senses, and understood their intention to preserve his life, he pushed the physician from him, and, with a fierce resolution, tore out his bowels, and expired.

Upon the death of Cato, the war in Africa having terminated, Cæsar returned in triumph to Rome. The citizens were astonished at the magnificence of the procession, and the number of the countries he had subdued: it seemed as if he had abridged all his former triumphs, to increase the splendour of this. It continued four days. The first was for Gaul; the second for Egypt; the third, for his victories in Asia; and the fourth, for the conquest of Juba, in Africa. His veteran soldiers, all scarred with wounds, and now laid up for life, followed their triumphant general, crowned with laurels, and conducted him to the capitol. To every one of these, he gave a sum equal to about one hundred and fifty pounds sterling; double that sum to the centurions, and four times as much to the superior officers. The citizens also shared his bounty; to each of whom, he distributed ten bushels of corn, ten pounds of oil, and a sum of money equal to about forty shillings. After this, he entertained the people at twenty-thousand tables, treated them with a combat of gladiators, and filled Rome with a concourse of spectators from every part of Italy.

The people, intoxicated by these allurements of pleasure, thought their freedom too small a return for such benefits: they seemed eager only to find out new modes of homage, and unusual epithets of adulation for their great enslaver. He was appointed, by a new title, *Magister Morum*, or master of the morals of the people: he received the appellation of emperor, father of his country: his person was declared sacred; and, in short, upon him alone devolved, for life, all the great dignities of the state. It must, however, be acknowledged, that so much power could not have been intrusted to better keeping. He began his empire by immediately repressing vice, and rewarding virtue. He committed the courts of judicature to the senators and the knights alone; by many sumptuary laws, restrained the scandalous luxuries of the rich, and used the most prudent methods of repeopling the city, which had been exhausted in the late commotions.

Having thus restored prosperity to Rome, he again found himself under a necessity of going into Spain, to oppose an army raised there under the two sons of Pompey, and also Labienus, his former general. He proceeded in this expedition with his usual celerity; and arrived before the enemy thought him yet departed from Rome. Cneius and Sextus, Pompey's sons, profiting by the example of their unhappy father, resolved, as much as possible, to protract the war; so that the first operations of the two armies were spent in sieges, and fruitless

attempts to surprise each other. At length, Cæsar, after taking many cities from the enemy, and pursuing Pompey with unwearied perseverance, compelled him to engage in battle, upon the plains of Munda. At break of day, Pompey drew up his men, with great order and precision, on the declivity of a hill. Cæsar marshalled his forces on the plain below; and, after moving a little way from his trenches, he ordered them to halt; expecting the enemy would shortly descend the hill. This delay caused murmuring amongst his soldiers, whilst Pompey's with full vigour poured down upon them; and a dreadful conflict ensued. The first shock was so tremendous, that Cæsar's men, who had been hitherto used to conquer, now began to waver. Cæsar was never before in so much danger: he threw himself several times into the very throng of battle. "What," cried he, "are you going to give up your general, who is grown grey in fighting at your head, to a parcel of boys?" Upon this, his tenth legion exerted themselves with more than former bravery; and a party of horse being detached from the camp of Pompey, by Labienus, in pursuit of a body of Numidian cavalry, Cæsar cried aloud, that they were flying. This cry instantly spread itself through both armies, exciting the one, as much as it depressed the other. Now, therefore, the tenth legion pressed forward, and a total rout ensued. Thirty-thousand men were killed on Pompey's side, amongst whom was Labienus, whom Cæsar ordered to be buried with the funeral honours of a general officer. Cneius Pompey escaped with a few horsemen to the sea-side, but, finding his passage intercepted, he was obliged to seek for a retreat in an obscure cavern. He was quickly discovered by some of Cæsar's troops, who cut off his head, and carried it to the conqueror. His brother Sextus, however, concealed himself so well, that he escaped all pursuit, and afterwards became very formidable to the people of Rome, on account of his piracies.

Cæsar, by this last blow, subdued all his avowed enemies; and the rest of his life was employed for the advantage of the state. He adorned the city with magnificent buildings: he rebuilt Carthage and Corinth, sending colonies to both places: he undertook to level several mountains in Italy; to drain the Pontine Marshes, near Rome, and intended to cut through the Isthmus of Peloponnesus. Thus, with a mind that could never remain inactive, he pondered mighty projects, beyond the limits of the longest life. But the greatest of all, was his intended expedition against the Parthians. By this, he designed to revenge the death of Crassus, who, having penetrated too far

into their country, was overthrown, taken prisoner, and put to a cruel death, by having melted gold poured down his throat, as a punishment for his former avarice. Thence, Cæsar intended to pass through Hyrcania, and enter Scythia, along the shores of the Caspian Sea, then, to open himself a way through the immeasurable forests of Germany, into Gaul, and so return to Rome. These were the aims of ambition: the jealousy of a few individuals put an end to them all.

Having been made perpetual dictator, and received from the senate accumulated honours, it began to be rumoured that he intended to make himself king; and though in fact, he was possessed of the power, the people, who had an utter aversion to the name, could not bear his using the title. Whether he really designed to assume that empty honour, must, to us, for ever remain a secret; but certain it is, the unsuspecting openness of his conduct, displayed something like a confidence in the innocence of his intentions. When informed by those about him, of the jealousies of many persons who envied his power, he was heard to say, that he would rather die once by treason, than live continually in apprehension. When advised to beware of Brutus, in whom he had for some time reposed the greatest confidence, he opened his breast, all scarred with wounds, saying, "Can you think Brutus cares for such poor pillage as this?" And being one night at supper, as his friends disputed amongst themselves what death was easiest, he replied, "That which is most sudden, and least foreseen." But, to convince the world how little he had to apprehend from enemies, he disbanded the company of Spanish guards; which measure facilitated the design upon his life.

A deep conspiracy was therefore laid against him; composed of no less than sixty senators. They were still the more formidable, as the majority were of his own party, who, having been raised above other citizens, felt more strongly the weight of a single superior. At the head of this conspiracy, were, Brutus, whose life Cæsar had spared at the battle of Pharsalia, and Cassius, who was soon afterwards pardoned; both prætors for the present year. The former made it his chief glory that he was descended from that Brutus who first gave liberty to Rome; and the passion for freedom seemed to have been transmitted, with the blood of his ancestors, down to him. But, though he detested tyranny, yet he could not forbear loving the tyrant, from whom he had received the most signal benefits.

The conspirators, to give a colour of justice to their pro-

ceedings, deferred the execution of their design until the *ides of March, the day on which Cæsar was to be offered the crown. The augurs had foretold that this day would be fatal to him; and the night preceding, he heard his wife Calpurnia lamenting in her sleep: when, being awakened, she confessed to him that she had dreamed of his being assassinated in her arms. These omens began to change his intentions of going to the senate, then, as he had determined: but, one of the conspirators, coming in, prevailed upon him to change his resolution; telling him of the reproach that would attend his staying at home, till his wife had lucky dreams, and of the preparations made for his appearance. As he proceeded to the senate, a slave, who hastened to him with information of the conspiracy, attempted to come near him, but could not for the crowd. Artemidorus, a Greek philosopher, who had discovered the whole plot, delivered him a memorial, containing the heads of the information; but Cæsar gave it, with other papers, to one of his secretaries, without reading, as it was usual in things of this nature. Having at length entered the senate-house, where his enemies were prepared to receive him, he met one Spurina, an augur, who had foretold his danger; to whom, he said, smiling: "Well, Spurina, the ides of March are come." "Yes," replied the augur, "but they are not yet over."

As soon as Cæsar had taken his place, the conspirators approached, under pretence of saluting him; and Cimber, who was one of them, advanced in a suppliant posture, pretending to sue for the pardon of his brother, who had been banished by Cæsar's order. All the rest of the party seconded him, with great earnestness; and Cimber, seeming to sue with still greater submission, took hold of the extremity of his robe, holding him so as to prevent his rising. This was the signal agreed on. Casca, who was behind, stabbed him, though slightly, in the shoulder. Cæsar instantly turned round, and with the steel of his stablet wounded him in the arm. However, all the conspirators were now in motion; and, enclosing him around, he received a second stab, from an unknown hand, in the breast, whilst Cassius wounded him in the face. He still defended himself with great vigour, rushing amongst them, and throwing down all who opposed him, until he saw Brutus amongst the number of the conspirators; who, coming up, struck his dagger into his thigh. From that moment,

* Ides, or *Idus*, a term anciently used amongst the Romans; the 13th of each month, except in March, May, July, and October, in which, it is the 15th.

Cæsar thought no more of defending himself; but, looking on Brutus, cried out: "And you too, my son!" Then, covering his head, and spreading his robe before him, in order to fall with greater decency, he sunk down at the base of Pompey's statue, after receiving twenty-three wounds, from hands which he vainly supposed he had disarmed by his liberality.

U. C. Cæsar was killed in the fifty-sixth year of his age,
710. and about fourteen years after he began the conquest of the world. If we examine his history, we shall be at a loss which most to admire, his great abilities, or his wonderful fortune. To pretend to say, that, from the beginning, he planned the subjection of his native country, is doing no great credit to his well known penetration; as a thousand obstacles lay in his way, which fortune, rather than conduct, was to surmount. No man, therefore, of his sagacity, would have begun a scheme, in which the chances of succeeding were so many against him: it is more probable, that, like all very successful men, he only made the best of every occurrence; and, his ambition rising with his good fortune, from at first being contented with less extensive views, he at last began to think of governing the world, when he found scarcely any obstacle to oppose his designs. Such is the disposition of man; whose cravings after power are always most insatiable when he enjoys the greatest share.

As soon as the conspirators had despatched Cæsar, they all retired to the capitol, and guarded its accesses by a body of gladiators, which Brutus had in pay.

The friends of the late dictator perceived that this was the time for coming into greater power than before, and for satiating their ambition under the veil of promoting justice. Of this number, was Antony, whom we have already seen acting as lieutenant under Cæsar, and governing Rome in his absence. He was a man of moderate abilities, and excessive vices: ambitious of power, only because it gave to his pleasures a wider range; but skilled in war, to which he had been trained from his youth. He held the office of consul for this year; and resolved, with Lepidus, who, like himself, was fond of commotions, to seize this opportunity of gaining that power which Cæsar had died for usurping. His colleague, therefore, took possession of the forum, with a band of soldiers; and Antony, being consul, was permitted to command them. His first step was to secure all Cæsar's money and papers, and the next to convoke the senate. Never, had this august assembly been convened upon so delicate an occasion: it was to determine

whether Cæsar had been a legal magistrate, or a tyrannical usurper; and whether those who killed him merited rewards or punishments. There were many of these who had received all their promotions from Cæsar, and had acquired large fortunes in consequence of his appointment: to vote him a usurper, therefore, would be to endanger their property, and yet to declare him innocent, might endanger the state. In this dilemma, they seemed willing to reconcile extremes; wherefore, they approved all the acts of Cæsar, and yet granted a general pardon to all the conspirators.

This decree was very far from giving satisfaction to Antony; as it exempted a number of men who were the avowed enemies of tyranny, and who would be foremost in opposing his schemes of restoring absolute power. As, therefore, the senate had ratified all the acts of Cæsar, without distinction, he formed a scheme of making him rule when dead, as imperiously as he had done when living. Being in possession of Cæsar's books of office, he so far gained upon his secretary, as to make him insert whatever he thought proper. By this means, great sums of money, which Cæsar would never have given, were there distributed amongst the people; and every man who had any seditious designs against the government, was sure of finding a gratuity. Things being in this situation, Antony demanded of the senate, that Cæsar's funeral obsequies should be performed; which they could not decently forbid, as they had never declared him a tyrant. Accordingly, his body was brought forth with the utmost solemnity, into the forum; and Antony, who charged himself with these last duties of friendship, began his operations upon the passions of the people, by the ruling motives of private interest. He first read them Cæsar's will, in which he had left Octavius, his sister's grandson, his heir, permitting him to take the name of Cæsar, and three parts of his private fortune: Brutus was to inherit in case of his death. To the Roman people, were left, the gardens which he had on the other side of the Tyber; and every citizen, in particular, was to receive three hundred sesterces. Then, unfolding Cæsar's bloody robe, in view of the multitude, he took care that they should observe the number of stabs in it; and next, he displayed an image, which to them appeared the body of Cæsar, all covered with wounds. They could no longer contain their indignation, but unanimously cried out for revenge, and ran with flaming brands from the pile, to set fire to the conspirators' houses. In this rage of resentment, meeting with one Cinna, whom they mistook for another of the same

name, who was in the conspiracy, they tore him to pieces. Those, however, who were concerned in Cæsar's murder, being well guarded, easily repulsed the multitude; but, perceiving their violence, they thought it prudent, soon afterwards, to retire from the city.

In the mean time, Antony, who had excited this flame, resolved to profit by the occasion. But, an obstacle to his ambition seemed to arise from a quarter in which he least expected it; from Octavius Cæsar, afterwards called Augustus, who was the grand nephew and adopted son of Julius Cæsar. A third competitor also for power appeared in Lepidus, a man of great riches, and some authority in Rome. At first, the ambition of these three menaced fatal consequences to each other; but, soon afterwards uniting in the common cause, they resolved to revenge the death of Cæsar, and, dividing all power amongst themselves, formed what is called the Second Triumvirate.

The meeting of these three usurpers of their country's freedom, was near Mutina, on a little island of the river Panarus. Their mutual suspicions were the cause of their convening in a place where they could not fear any treachery; for, even in their union, they always retained a diffidence of each other. Lepidus first entered; and finding all things safe, made the signal for the others to approach. Upon their first meeting they embraced; and Augustus began the conference, by thanking Antony for his zeal in putting Decimus Brutus to death; who, abandoned by his army, was taken as he designed to escape into Macedonia, and beheaded by Antony's command. They then entered upon the business that lay before them, without any retrospection of the past. Their conference lasted for three days; and in this period they fixed a division of government, and determined upon the fate of thousands. The result was, that the supreme authority should be lodged in their hands, under the title of the triumvirate, for the space of five years: that Antony should have Gaul; Lepidus, Spain; and Augustus, Africa and the Mediterranean islands. As for Italy, and the eastern provinces, they were to remain in common, until their general enemy was entirely subdued; and, amongst other articles of union, it was agreed, that all whom they suspected should be destroyed; of which, each presented a list. In these, were comprised, not only the enemies, but the friends, of the triumvirate; as the partisans of one were often found amongst the opposers of another. Thus, Lepidus gave up his brother Paulus to the vengeance of his colleague;

Antony permitted the proscription of his uncle Lucius; and Augustus delivered up the great Cicero, who was, by Antony's command, shortly afterwards assassinated!

In the mean time, Brutus and Cassius, the principal conspirators against Cæsar, being compelled to leave the city, went into Greece, where they persuaded the Roman students at Athens to declare in the cause of freedom. Then, parting, the former raised a powerful army in Macedonia and the adjacent countries, whilst the latter went into Syria, where he soon became master of twelve legions, and reduced his opponent Dolabella to so great extremity, that he killed himself. Both armies soon afterwards joined at Smyrna. The sight of a force so formidable, began to revive the declining spirits of the party; and to unite still more closely the two generals, between whom there had been, some time before, a slight misunderstanding. Having quitted Italy like distressed exiles, without a single soldier or town that acknowledged their command, they now found themselves at the head of a flourishing army, furnished with all the necessaries of war, and in a condition to support a contest, on the event of which depended the empire of the world. This success in raising levies, was entirely owing to the justice, moderation, and humanity of Brutus; who, in every instance, seemed studious of the happiness of his country, in preference to his own.

In this flourishing state of their affairs, they formed a resolution of going against Cleopatra, who had made great preparations to assist their opponents. However, they were diverted from this purpose, by information that Augustus and Antony were then upon their march, with forty legions, to attack them. Brutus, therefore, proposed that their army should pass over into Greece and Macedonia, and there meet the enemy: but Cassius so far prevailed, as to have the Rhodians and Lycians first reduced; they having refused their usual contributions. This determination was immediately put in execution, and extraordinary supplies were by that means raised; the Rhodians having scarcely any thing left them but their lives. The Lycians suffered still more severely. Having shut themselves up in the city of Xanthus, they defended the place against Brutus, with such obstinacy, that neither his arts nor entreaties could prevail upon them to surrender. At length, the town being set on fire by their attempting to burn the works of the Romans, Brutus, instead of laying hold of this opportunity to storm the place, made every effort to preserve it, entreating his soldiers to try all means of extinguishing the fire; but the des-

perate frenzy of the citizens, was not to be restrained. Far from being obliged to their generous enemy, for the efforts which were made to save them, they resolved to perish in the flames; and, instead of extinguishing, they did all in their power to augment, the fire, by throwing in dry reeds, wood, and all kinds of fuel. Nothing could exceed the distress of Brutus, on seeing the townsmen thus resolutely bent upon destroying themselves: he rode about the fortifications, stretching out his hands to the Xanthians, and conjuring them to have pity on themselves, and their city; but, insensible to his expostulations, they rushed into the flames with desperate obstinacy, and the whole soon became a heap of undistinguishable ruin. At this horrid spectacle, Brutus melted into tears; offering a reward to every soldier who should bring him a Lycian alive; but the number of those whom it was possible to save from their own fury, amounted to no more than one-hundred-and-fifty.

Brutus and Cassius met once more at Sardis; where, after the usual ceremonies had passed, they resolved to have a private conference. They therefore shut themselves up in the first convenient house, with express orders to their servants to suffer no interruption. Brutus began, by reprimanding Cassius for having disposed of offices, which should always be the reward of merit; and for having overtaxed the tributary states. Cassius retorted the imputation of avarice, with the more bitterness, as he knew the charge to be groundless. The debate grew warm, till, from loud speaking, they burst into tears. Their friends, who were standing at the door, overheard the increasing vehemence of their voices, and began to dread the consequences; when Favonius, who valued himself upon a cynical boldness which knew no restraint, entered the room with a jest, and calmed their mutual animosity. Cassius readily restrained his anger. He was a man of great abilities, though of uneven disposition; not averse to pleasure in private company, and on the whole, not very strict in his morals. But the conduct of Brutus was always perfectly steady. An even gentleness, a noble elevation of sentiment; a strength of mind, over which neither vice nor pleasure could have any influence; an inflexible firmness in the defence of justice, composed the character of this great man.* After their conference, night coming on,

* Such, is the opinion entertained of him by cotemporary historians; but, in reference to his assisting in the murder of his friend, or indeed aiding in the assassination of Cæsar, considered as a magistrate, or even as a private individual, his conduct will not bear the test of this age, enlightened by the pure principles of Christianity and Justice.—*Editor.*

Cassius invited Brutus and his friends to an entertainment; where freedom and cheerfulness for a while took place of political anxiety, and softened the severity of wisdom.

On returning home, Brutus, as Plutarch tells the story, saw a spectre in his tent. He naturally slept but little, and had increased this state of watchfulness by habit and great sobriety. He never allowed himself to sleep in the day time, as was then common in Rome; and only gave so much of the night to repose, as could barely renew the natural functions. But especially now, when oppressed with so many cares, he devoted a very short time, after his evening repast, to rest; and, awaking about midnight, generally read or studied until morning. It was in the dead of night, when the whole camp was perfectly quiet, that Brutus was thus employed in reading, by a lamp, that was just expiring. On a sudden, he thought he heard a noise, as if somebody entered; and, looking towards the door, perceived it open. A gigantic figure, with a frightful aspect, stood before him, and continued to gaze upon him with silent severity. At last, Brutus had courage to speak to it: "Art thou a demon or a mortal man? and why comest thou to me?" "Brutus," replied the phantom, "I am thy evil genius: thou shalt meet me again at Philippi." "Well, then," answered Brutus, "we shall meet again." Upon this, the phantom vanished; and Brutus, calling to his servants, asked if they had seen any thing; to which, being answered in the negative, he resumed his studies. But as he was struck with so strange an occurrence, he mentioned it the next day to Cassius; who, being an epicurean, ascribed it to the effect of an imagination too much exercised by vigilance and anxiety; in which opinion, he was correct. Brutus appeared satisfied with this solution of his late terrors; and as Antony and Augustus were now advancing towards Macedonia, he and his colleague passed over into Thrace, and drew near to the city of Philippi, where the forces of the triumviri were posted to receive them.

All mankind now regarded the approaching armies with solicitude and terror. The empire of the world depended on the fate of a battle; as, from victory, on the one side, they had to expect freedom, but on the other, a sovereign with absolute command. Brutus was the only man who looked upon these great events with calmness and tranquillity. Indifferent as to success, and satisfied by having done his duty, he said to one of his friends: "If I gain the victory, I shall restore liberty to my country; if I lose it, by dying, I shall be delivered from slavery myself; my condition is fixed, and I run no hazard."

The republican army consisted of eighty-thousand foot and twenty-thousand horse. That of the triumviri, of one-hundred thousand foot, and thirteen-thousand horse. Thus complete on both sides, they met and encamped near each other upon the plains of Philippi, a city on the confines of Thrace. This town was situated upon a mountain, towards the west of which a plain extended, by a gentle declivity, almost fifteen leagues, to the banks of the river Strymon. On this plain, about two miles from Philippi, were two little hills, about a mile distant from each other, defended on one side by mountains, on the other by a marsh, which communicated with the sea. It was on these two hills, that Brutus and Cassius fixed their camps: the former, on the hill towards the north; the latter, on that towards the south; and, in the intermediate space they threw up lines and a parapet, from one hill to the other. Thus, they preserved a firm communication between the two camps, which afforded mutual defence. In this commodious situation, they could act as they thought proper; and give battle only when it was thought to their advantage to engage. Behind them, was the sea, which furnished them with all kinds of provisions; and, at twelve miles distance, the island of Thasos, which served them for a general magazine. The triumviri were encamped on the plain below, and were obliged to bring their supplies from a place fifteen leagues distant; so that their interest was to bring on a battle as soon as they possibly could. This they offered several times; drawing out their men from the camp, and provoking the enemy to engage. On the contrary, the latter contented themselves with drawing up their troops at the head of their camps, but without descending into the plain. This resolution of postponing the battle was their only resource; and Cassius, who was aware of his advantage, resolved to harass the enemy rather than engage them. But Brutus began to suspect the fidelity of some of his officers; and used all his influence to persuade Cassius to change his resolution. "I am impatient," said he, "to put an end to the miseries of mankind; and, in that, I have hopes of succeeding, whether I fall or conquer." His wishes were soon gratified; for, Antony's soldiers, having with great labour made a road through the marsh which lay to the left of Cassius' camp, by that means opened a communication with the island of Thasos, situated behind them. Both sides, in attempting to take possession of this road, resolved at length to come to a general engagement. This, however, was contrary to the advice of Cassius, who declared that he was forced, as Pompey had for-

merly been, to expose the liberty of Rome to the hazard of a single battle.

The ensuing morning, the two generals gave the signal for engaging, and had a short conference before the battle began. Cassius desired to know how Brutus intended to act, in case they were unsuccessful; to which, the other replied: "Formerly, in my writings, I condemned the death of Cato, and maintained, that avoiding calamities by suicide was an insolent attempt against Heaven that sent them; but I have now altered my opinions, and, having given up my life to my country, I think I have a right to my own way of ending it; wherefore, I am resolved to change a miserable being here, for a better hereafter, if fortune prove against me." "Well said, my friend," cried Cassius, embracing him; "now, we may venture to face the enemy; for either we shall be conquerors ourselves, or we shall have no cause to fear those that are so."

Augustus being sick, the forces of the triumviri were commanded alone by Antony, who began the engagement by a vigorous attack upon the lines of Cassius. Brutus, on the other side, made a dreadful irruption on those of Augustus, and drove forward with so much intrepidity, that he forced them at the very first charge. Upon this, he penetrated as far as the camp, and cutting in pieces those who were left for its defence, his troops immediately began to plunder; but, in the mean time, the lines of Cassius were broken, and his cavalry put to flight. There was no effort that this unfortunate general did not use, to make his infantry stand; himself stopping those that fled, and seizing the colours to rally. But his valour, alone, was not sufficient to inspire his intimidated army; wherefore, despairing of success, he caused himself to be killed by one of his freedmen. Brutus was soon informed of the defeat of Cassius; and shortly after his death, as he drew near the camp, he seemed scarcely able to retain the excess of his grief, for a man whom he called the last of the Romans.

But his first care, when he became the sole general, was to assemble the dispersed troops of Cassius, and animate them with fresh hopes of victory. As they lost all they had possessed by the plundering of their camp, he promised them two-thousand denarii each man, to make up their losses. This inspired them with new ardour: they admired the liberality of their general, and with loud shouts proclaimed his former intrepidity. Still, however, he had not confidence sufficient to face the enemy, who offered him battle the ensuing day. His aim was to starve his adversaries, who were in extreme want of provisions; their

fleet having been lately defeated. But his single opinion was overruled by the army, who now grew every day more confident of their strength, and more arrogant to their new general. He was, therefore, at last, after a respite of twenty days, obliged to comply with their solicitations to try the fate of a battle. Both armies being drawn out, they remained a considerable time opposite each other, without offering to engage. But, it is said that Brutus had lost much of his natural ardour, by having seen a spectre the night preceding; however, he encouraged his men as much as possible, and gave the signal for another battle. He had, as usual, the advantage, where he commanded in person; bearing down the enemy at the head of his infantry, and, supported by his cavalry, making very great slaughter. But the troops which had belonged to Cassius, communicating their terror to the rest of the forces, the whole army at last gave way. Brutus, surrounded by the most valiant of his forces, fought for a long time, with amazing bravery. The son of Cato fell fighting by his side, as also the brother of Cassius; so that, at length, he was obliged to yield to necessity, and fled. In the mean time, the two triumviri, now assured of victory, expressly ordered that the general should not be suffered to escape, lest he might renew the war. Thus, the whole body of the enemy seemed chiefly intent on Brutus alone, and his capture seemed inevitable. In this deplorable exigence, Lucilius, his friend, resolved, by his own death, to effect his general's delivery. On perceiving a body of Thracian horse closely pursuing Brutus, and just on the point of taking him, he boldly threw himself in their way, telling them that he was Brutus. The Thracians, overjoyed with so great a prize, immediately despatched some of their companions to the army, with the news of their success; and the ardour of the pursuit now abating, Antony marched out to meet his prisoner, and to hasten his death or insult his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of officers and privates: some silently deploring the fate of so virtuous a man; others reproaching that mean desire of life, for which he consented to undergo captivity. Antony, now seeing the Thracians approach, began to reprepare himself for the interview; but the faithful Lucilius, advancing with a cheerful air: "It is not Brutus," said he, "that is taken; fortune has not yet had the power of committing so great an outrage upon virtue. As for my life, it is well given in preserving his honour; take it, for I have deceived you." Antony, struck with so much fidelity, pardoned him on the

spot; and, from that time forward, loaded him with favours, and honoured him with his friendship.

In the mean time, Brutus, with a small number of friends, passed over a rivulet; and, night coming on, sat down under a rock, which concealed him from the pursuit of the enemy. After taking breath for a little time, and casting his eyes up to heaven, he repeated a line from Euripides, containing a wish to the gods, "that guilt should not pass, in this life, without punishment;" to which, he added another, from the same poet: "O virtue! thou empty name, I have worshiped thee as a divinity; but thou art only the slave of fortune." He then called to mind, with great tenderness, those whom he had seen perish in battle, and sent out one Statilius, to obtain some information of those that remained; but he never returned, being killed by a party of the enemy's horse. Brutus, judging very rightly of his fate, now resolved to die likewise, and spoke to those who stood around, to lend him their last sad assistance. None of them, however, would render him so melancholy a service. He therefore called to one of his slaves, to perform what he so ardently desired: but Strato, his tutor, offered himself; crying out, "That it should never be said, that Brutus, in his last extremity, stood in need of a slave, for want of a friend." Thus saying, and averting his head, he presented the sword's point to Brutus, who threw himself upon it, and instantly expired.*

From the moment of the death of Brutus, the triumviri began to act as sovereigns, and to divide the Roman dominions amongst them, as theirs, by right of conquest. However, though there were apparently three who participated, yet, in fact, only two were concerned in the administration; since Lepidus was introduced merely to curb the mutual jealousy of Antony and Augustus, and had neither interest in the army, nor authority over the people. Their first care was to punish those whom they formerly marked out for vengeance. Hortensius, Drusus, and Quintilius Varus, all men of the first rank in the commonwealth, either killed themselves, or were put to death. A senator and his son were ordered to cast lots for their lives: the father voluntarily offered himself to the execu-

* In this manner, did the heathens, when overtaken by adversity, fly from their worldly sorrows, and rush, unconscious of a Judge, into the presence of their Creator! Where was Hope, that balm of life, which soothes us under every bereavement? Where was Fortitude, which shields the afflicted in the day of trouble? Alas! these had not, as yet, their proper influence over the human mind. The light of true religion has taught us to feel them, and to view, with appalling terror, the horrid crime of suicide.—*Editor.*

tioner, and the son stabbed himself before his face. Another begged to have the rites of burial after his death; to which, Augustus replied: "That he should find a grave in the vultures that devoured him." But chiefly, the people lamented to see the head of Brutus brought to Rome, to be thrown at the foot of Cæsar's statue. His ashes, however, were sent to his wife Porcia, Cato's daughter; who, following the example of her husband and her father, killed herself, by swallowing burning coals.

It is observed, that of all those who had a hand in the murder of Cæsar, not one died a natural death.

The power of the triumviri being thus established upon the ruin of the commonwealth, they now began to think of enjoying that homage to which they had aspired. Antony went into Greece, to receive the flattery of that refined people, and remained some time at Athens, conversing amongst the philosophers, and assisting at their disputes, in person. Thence, he passed over into Asia, where all the monarchs of the east, who acknowledged the Roman power, came to pay him their obedience; whilst the fairest princesses strove to gain his favour, by the greatness of their presents, or the allurements of their beauty. In this manner, he proceeded, from kingdom to kingdom, attended by a crowd of sovereigns; exacting contributions, distributing bounties, and giving away crowns with capricious insolence. He presented the kingdom of Cappadocia to Sysenes, in prejudice of Ariarathes, only because he found pleasure in the beauty of Glaphyra, the mother of the former. He settled Herod (called by the ancients Herodes) in the kingdom of Judea, and supported him against every opposer. But, amongst all the sovereigns of the east who shared his favours, none had so large a part as Cleopatra, the celebrated queen of Egypt.

It happened, that Serapion, her governor in the island of Cyprus, had formerly furnished some succours to the conspirators; and it was thought proper that she should answer for his conduct on that occasion. Accordingly, having received orders from Antony to appear and exculpate herself, she readily complied; equally conscious of the goodness of her cause, and the power of her beauty. She was now in her twenty-seventh year; having by experience improved those allurements, which, in earlier age, are seldom attended to. Her address and wit were still more highly polished; and, though some women in Rome were her equals in beauty, none could rival her in the charms of conversation.

Antony was then in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, where Cleopatra resolved to attend his court in person. She sailed to meet him, down the river Cydnus (at the mouth of which the city stood,) with the most sumptuous pageantry. Her galley was covered with gold; the sails were of purple, large and floating in the wind. The oars of silver swept to the sound of flutes and cymbals. She herself lay reclined on a couch, spangled with stars of gold, and with such ornaments as poets and painters had usually ascribed to Venus. On each side, were boys like Cupids, who alternately refreshed her with their fans; whilst the most beautiful nymphs, dressed as Naiads and Graces, were placed at proper distances around her. On the banks of the river, burned the most exquisite perfumes; whilst an innumerable crowd gazed upon the scene with delight and admiration. Antony was captivated by her beauty; and, sacrificing business to his passion, shortly afterwards followed her into Egypt. There, he continued, in all that ease and softness, to which his vicious heart was prone, and which that luxurious people were able to supply.

Whilst he remained thus idle in Egypt, Augustus, who took upon himself to lead back the veteran troops, and settle them in Italy, was assiduously employed in providing for their subsistence. He had promised them lands at home, as a recompense for their past services; but they could not receive the new grants, without turning out the former inhabitants. In consequence of this, multitudes of women, with children in their arms, whose tender years and innocence excited universal compassion, daily filled the streets and temples with their distresses. Numbers of husbandmen and shepherds came to deprecate the conqueror's intention, or to obtain a habitation in some other part of the world. Amongst this number, was Virgil, the poet, (to whom mankind owe more than to a thousand conquerors,) who in an humble manner begged permission to retain his patrimonial farm. Virgil (classically named Virgilius Maro) obtained his request; but the rest of his countrymen of Mantua and Cremona, were turned out, without mercy.

Rome, and all Italy, now felt extreme misery: the insolent soldiers plundered at will, whilst Sextus Pompey, being master of the sea, cut off all foreign communication, and prevented the people from receiving their usual supplies of corn. To these mischiefs, were added, the commencement of another civil war. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who had been left behind him at Rome, had experienced, for sometime, all the rage of jealousy, and resolved to try every method of bringing back

her husband from the arms of Cleopatra. She considered a breach with Augustus, as the only means of rousing him from his lethargy; and accordingly, with the assistance of Lucius, her brother-in-law, who was consul, and entirely devoted to her interest, she began to sow the seeds of dissension. The pretext was, that Antony should have a share in the distribution of lands, as well as Augustus. This produced negotiations, and the latter offered to make the veterans themselves umpires in the dispute. Lucius refused to acquiesce; and being at the head of more than six legions, mostly composed of those who were dispossessed, he resolved to compel Augustus to accept of whatever terms he should offer. Thus, a new war was excited, between Augustus and Antony; or at least the generals of the latter assumed the sanction of his name. Augustus, however, was victorious: Lucius was hemmed in between two armies, and constrained to retreat to Perusia, a city of Etruria, where he was closely besieged by the opposite party. He made many desperate sallies, and Fulvia did all in her power to relieve him; but without success. He was at last, therefore, reduced to so great extremity, by famine, that he came out in person, and delivered himself up to the mercy of the conqueror, who received him very honourably, and generously pardoned him and all his followers.

Antony, having heard of his brother's overthrow, and his wife's being compelled to leave Italy, determined to oppose Augustus without delay. He accordingly sailed, at the head of a considerable fleet, from Alexandria to Tyre, and thence to Cyprus and Rhodes; and had an interview with Fulvia, at Athens. He blamed her much, for occasioning the late disorders, testified the utmost contempt for her person, and, leaving her upon her death bed, at Sycion, hastened into Italy, to fight Augustus. They both met at Brundisium, and it was thought that the flames of civil war were going to blaze out again. The forces of Antony were numerous, but mostly inexperienced; however, he was assisted by Sextus Pompeius, who, in these oppositions of interest, was daily coming into power. Augustus was at the head of those veterans, who had always been irresistible, but who seemed no way disposed to fight against Antony, their former general. A negotiation was therefore proposed; and, by the activity of Cocceius, a friend to both, a reconciliation was effected. All offences were mutually forgiven; and, to cement the union, a marriage was concluded between Antony and Octavia, the sister of Augustus. A new division of the Roman empire was made: Augustus was to

have the command of the west, Antony of the east, whilst Lepidus was obliged to content himself with the provinces in Africa. Sextus Pompeius was permitted to retain all those islands of which he was already in possession, together with Peloponnesus: he was also granted the privilege of demanding the consulship in his absence, and of discharging the duties of that office by any of his friends. It was likewise stipulated to leave the sea open, and to pay the people what corn was due out of Sicily. Thus, a general peace was concluded, to the great satisfaction of the people, who expected a cessation from all their calamities.

This calm had continued for some time, when Antony led his forces against the Parthians, over whom his lieutenant Ventidius had gained several advantages; Augustus drew the greater part of his army into Gaul, where there were some disturbances; and Pompey went to secure his newly ceded provinces to his interest. It was in this quarter that fresh motives were given for recommencing the war. Antony, who was obliged by treaty to quit Peloponnesus, refused to evacuate it, until Pompey would satisfy him for those debts which were due to him by the inhabitants. With this, he would by no means comply, but immediately fitted out another fleet, and again began his enterprises, by cutting off all the corn and provisions that were consigned to Italy. Thus, the grievances of the poor were again renewed, and the people began to complain, that instead of three tyrants, they were then oppressed by four.

In this exigence, Augustus, who had long meditated on the best means of diminishing the number, determined to begin by getting rid of Pompey, who kept the state in continual alarm. He was master of two fleets; one, which he had caused to be built at Ravenna, and another, which Mendorus, who revolted from Pompey, brought to his aid. His first attempt was to invade Sicily; but, being overpowered in his passage by Pompey, and afterwards shattered in a storm, he was obliged to defer his designs, until the ensuing year. During this interval, he was reinforced by a noble fleet of one-hundred-and-twenty ships, given him by Antony, with which he resolved once more to invade Sicily, on three several quarters. But fortune seemed still determined to oppose him: he was a second time disabled by a storm; which so raised the vanity of Pompey, that he began to style himself the son of Neptune. However, Augustus was not to be intimidated, by any disasters: having quickly refitted his navy, and recruited his forces, he gave the command of both to Agrippa, his faithful friend and associate

in war. Agrippa proved himself worthy of the trust reposed in him: he began his operations by a victory over Pompey; and, though he was shortly afterwards worsted himself, he soon gave his adversary a complete and final overthrow. Thus undone, Pompey resolved to fly to Antony, from whom he expected shelter, as he had formerly obliged that triumvir by giving protection to his mother. However, a gleam of hope appearing, he tried once more, at the head of a small body of men, to make himself independent, and even surprised Antony's lieutenants, who had been sent to accept of his submission. Nevertheless, he was at last abandoned by his soldiers, and delivered up to Titus, Antony's lieutenant, who shortly afterwards caused him to be slain.

The death of this general removed one very powerful obstacle to the ambition of Augustus; and he determined to take the earliest opportunity to get rid of the rest of his associates.

An offence, soon after this, was furnished by Lepidus, which served as a sufficient pretext to Augustus, for depriving him of his share in the triumvirate. Being at the head of twenty-two legions, with a strong body of cavalry, he idly supposed that his present power was more than an equivalent to the popularity of Augustus. He therefore resolved upon adding Sicily, where he then was, to his province; pretending a right, as he had first invaded it. Augustus sent to expostulate upon these proceedings; but the other fiercely replied, that he was determined to have a share in the administration, and would no longer submit to let one alone possess all the authority. Augustus was previously informed of the disposition of Lepidus' soldiers, for he had, by his intrigues and largesses, entirely attached them to himself. Wherefore, without further delay, he with great boldness went unattended to the camp of Lepidus, and with no other assistance than his private bounties, and the respect he had gained by his former victories, deposed his rival. Lepidus was deprived of all his authority, and banished to Circæum, where he continued the rest of his life, despised by his friends, and, to all, a melancholy object of blasted ambition.

There now remained only one obstruction in his way, which was Antony, whom he resolved to remove; and for that purpose began to render his character as contemptible as he possibly could, at Rome. Antony's conduct did not a little contribute to promote the endeavours of his ambitious partner. Having marched against the Parthians, with a very powerful army, he was forced to return, with the loss of a fourth part, and all his baggage. However, Antony seemed quite regard-

less of contempt: alive only to pleasure, and totally neglecting the business of the state, he spent whole days and nights in the company of Cleopatra, who studied every means to increase his passion, and vary his entertainments. Few women have been so much celebrated, for the art of giving novelty to pleasure, and making trifles important: still ingenious in filling up the languid pauses of sensual delight, with some new mode of refinement, she was at one time a queen, then a bacchanal, and sometimes a huntress. She formed a society, call the Inimitable; and those of the court who made the most sumptuous entertainments, carried away the prize. Not contented with sharing in her company all the delights which Egypt could afford, Antony determined to enlarge his sphere of luxury, by granting her many of those kingdoms which belonged to the Roman empire. He gave her all Phœnicia, Cœlo Syria, and Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia, Arabia, and Judea; gifts which he had no right to bestow, but which he pretended to grant in imitation of Hercules. This complication of vice and folly, at last totally exasperated the Romans; and Augustus, willing to take the advantage of their resentment, took care to exaggerate all his defects. At length, when he found the people sufficiently irritated against him, he sent Octavia, who was then at Rome, to Antony, ostensibly with a view of reclaiming her husband; but, in fact, to furnish a reasonable pretext for declaring war against him, as he knew she would be dismissed with contempt.

Antony was then at the city of Leucopolis, revelling with his insidious paramour, when he heard that Octavia was at Athens, upon her journey to visit him. This was very unwelcome news, as well to him as Cleopatra; who, fearing the charms of her rival, endeavoured to convince Antony of the strength of her passion, by her sighs, languishing looks, and well feigned melancholy. He frequently caught her in tears, which she seemed anxious to conceal; and often entreated her to tell him the cause, which she seemed as if willing to suppress. These artifices, together with the ceaseless flattery and importunity of her creatures, prevailed so much over Antony's weakness, that he commanded Octavia to return home, without seeing her; and, still more to exasperate the people of Rome, he resolved to repudiate her, and take Cleopatra as his wife. He accordingly assembled the people of Alexandria, in the public theatre, where was raised an alcove of silver, under which were placed two thrones of gold; one for himself, the other for Cleopatra. There, he seated himself, dressed as Bacchus,

whilst Cleopatra sat beside him, clothed in the ornaments and attributes of Isis, the principal deity of the Egyptians. On that occasion, he declared her queen of all the countries which he had already given her; and associated Cæsario, her son by Cæsar, as her partner in the government. To each of her two children, of which he was the father, he gave the title of king of kings, with very extensive dominions; and, to crown his absurdities, he next sent a minute account of his proceedings to the two consuls at Rome.

In the mean time, Augustus had a sufficient pretext for declaring war, and informed the senate of his intentions. However, he deferred the execution of his design for a while, being then employed in quelling an insurrection of the Illyrians. The following year was chiefly taken up in preparations against Antony; who, perceiving his design, remonstrated to the senate. He stated that he had many causes of complaint against his colleague, who had seized upon Sicily without affording him a share, dispossessed Lepidus, and retained to himself the province he had commanded: that he had divided all Italy amongst his own soldiers, leaving nothing to recompense those in Asia. To this complaint, Augustus was contented to make a sarcastic answer; implying, that it was absurd to complain of his distribution of a few trifling districts in Italy, when Antony, having conquered Parthia, might now reward his soldiers with cities and provinces. This sarcasm provoked him to send his army, without intermission, into Europe, to meet Augustus; whilst he and Cleopatra followed to Samos, in order to prepare for carrying on the war with vigour. When arrived there, it was extremely ridiculous, to behold the odd mixture of preparations for pleasure and for war. On one side, all the kings and princes, from Egypt to the Euxine sea, had orders to send him supplies of men, provisions, and arms: on the other, all the comedians, dancers, buffoons, and musicians of Greece, were ordered to attend him.

These delays, first at Samos, and afterwards at Athens, whither he carried Cleopatra, to receive new honours, were extremely favourable to the arms of Augustus, who was at first scarcely in a disposition to oppose him, had he gone into Italy. But he soon found time to put himself in a condition for carrying on the war, and shortly afterwards declared it against him in form. At length, both sides found themselves in readiness to take the field, and their armies were commensurate with the empire for which they contended. The one was followed by all the forces of the east; the other drew all the strength of

the west to support his pretensions. Antony's forces composed a body of one-hundred-thousand foot, and twelve-thousand horse, whilst his fleet amounted to five-hundred ships of war. The army of Augustus mustered only eighty-thousand foot, but equalled his adversary's in the number of cavalry: his fleet was but half as numerous as Antony's; however, his ships were more firmly built, and manned with better soldiers.

The great naval engagement, which proved decisive, was fought near Actium, a city of Epirus, at the entrance of the Gulf of Ambracia. Antony ranged his forces at the mouth of the Gulf, and Augustus drew up his fleet in opposition. Neither of the generals assumed any fixed station to command in, but went about from ship to ship, wherever the presence of either was required. In the mean time, the two land armies on opposite sides of the Gulf, were drawn up merely as spectators, and, by their shouts, encouraged the fleet to engage. The battle began, on both sides, with great ardour, and after a manner not practised on former occasions. The prows of their vessels were armed with brazen points; and with these they drove vehemently against each other. They fought for some time with great fury; nor was there any advantage, on either side, except a small appearance of disorder in the centre of Antony's fleet. But all at once Cleopatra determined the fortune of the day. She was seen flying from the engagement, attended by sixty sail; struck perhaps with the terrors natural to her sex: but what increased the general amazement was, to behold Antony himself soon following. His fleet, after an ineffectual struggle, submitted to the conquerors; and the army on land in a short time imitated the example.

When Cleopatra fled, Antony pursued her in a five-oar'd galley, and, coming along side of her ship, entered it; neither of them seeing the other.

She was in the stern, and he went to the prow, where he remained for some time silent, holding his head between his hands. In this manner, he continued for three whole days; during which, either through shame or indignation, he neither saw nor spoke to Cleopatra. At last, when arrived at the promontory of Tenarus, the queen's female attendants reconciled them, and every thing went on as before. Still, however, he had the consolation to suppose that his soldiers continued faithful to him, and accordingly despatched orders to his lieutenant, Canidius, to conduct them into Asia. However, he was soon undeceived, when he arrived in Africa, where he was informed of their submission to his rival. This account so transported

him with rage, that it was with difficulty he was prevented from killing himself; but at length, by the entreaties of his friends, he returned to Alexandria. Cleopatra, however, seemed to retain in her misfortunes, that strength of mind, which had utterly abandoned her admirer. Having, by means of confiscation and other acts of violence, amassed considerable riches, she formed a very extraordinary and unparalleled project; this was to convey her whole fleet over the Isthmus of Suez, into the Red Sea; and thereby save herself, with all her treasures, in another region, beyond the reach of Rome. Some of her vessels were actually transported thither, pursuant to her orders; but the Arabians having burned them, and Antony dissuading her from the design, she abandoned it, for a more difficult scheme—that of defending Egypt against the conqueror. She omitted nothing in her power to put this determination in practice, and made the necessary preparations for war; hoping thereby to obtain at least better terms from Augustus. She had always admired Antony's fortunes, rather than his person; and, if she could have devised any method of saving herself, though at his expense, there is no doubt that she would have gladly embraced it. Even yet, she had some hopes from the power of her charms, though arrived almost at the age of forty; and was desirous of trying upon Augustus those arts which had been successful with the greatest men of Rome. Thus, in three embassies, which were sent, one after another, from Antony, to Augustus, in Asia, the queen had always her secret agents charged with particular proposals in her name. Antony desired no more than that his life might be spared, and that he might have leave to pass the remainder of his days in obscurity. To these requests, Augustus made no reply. Cleopatra sent him also public proposals in favour of her children; but at the same time privately resigned him her crown, with all the ensigns of royalty. To the queen's public offers, no answer was given: to the other he replied, by giving her assurance of his favour in case she sent away Antony, or put him to death. These negotiations, however, came to the knowledge of Antony, whose jealousy and rage every occurrence now contributed to heighten. He built a small solitary house, upon a mole in the sea, and shut himself up, a prey to all those passions that are the tormentors of unsuccessful tyranny. There he passed his time, shunning all commerce with mankind, and professing to imitate Timon, the man-hater. However, his furious jealousy drove him, even from this retreat, into society: hearing that Cleopatra had many secret conferences with one Thyrus, an

emissary of Augustus, he seized him, and, after having him cruelly scourged, sent him back to his patron. At the same time, he forwarded letters, importing that he had chastised Thyrsus, for insulting a man in misfortune; but he gave Augustus permission to revenge himself, by punishing Hipparchus, Antony's freedman, in the same manner. The revenge in this case would have been highly pleasing to Antony, as Hipparchus had left him, to join the fortunes of his more successful rival.

Meanwhile, the operations of the war were carried vigorously forward, and Egypt soon afterwards became again the theatre of the contending armies of Rome. Gallus, the lieutenant of Augustus, took Paretonium, which opened the whole country to his incursions. On the other side, Antony, who had still considerable forces by sea and land, endeavoured to retake that important place from the enemy. He therefore marched towards it, flattering himself, that as soon as he should be seen by the legions which he had once commanded, the affection for their ancient general would revive. He approached, therefore, and exhorted them to remember their former vows of fidelity to him. Gallus, however, ordered all the trumpets to sound, to prevent Antony from being heard; so that he was obliged to retire.

Augustus himself was then marching, with another army, to attack Pelusium, which, by its strong situation, might have retarded his progress for some time. But the governor, either wanting courage to defend it, or previously instructed by Cleopatra to give it up, permitted him to take possession of the place; so that Augustus had now no obstacle in his way to Alexandria, whither he marched, with all expedition. Antony, on his arrival, sallied out to oppose him, fighting with great desperation, and putting the enemy's cavalry to flight. This trifling advantage once more revived his declining hopes; and, being naturally vain, he re-entered Alexandria in triumph. Then going, armed as he was, to the palace, he embraced Cleopatra, and introduced to her a soldier who had distinguished himself in the last engagement. The queen rewarded him very magnificently, presenting him with a head-piece and breastplate of gold. With these, however, the soldier went off the next night, to the other army; intending to secure his riches, by keeping on the strongest side. Antony could not bear this defection without fresh indignation: he determined, therefore, to make a bold expiring effort, by sea and land; but previously offered to fight his adversary in single combat

Augustus too well appreciated the inequality of their situations, to comply with this forlorn proposal; he only therefore, coolly replied, that Antony had ways enough to die, besides by single combat.

The day afterwards, he posted the few troops which he had yet remaining, upon a rising ground near the city; from which, he sent orders to his galleys to engage the enemy. There, he waited to be a spectator of the combat; and at first, he had the satisfaction to see his vessels advance in good order; but his approbation was soon turned into rage, when he saw them only saluting those of Augustus, and both fleets uniting and sailing back into the harbour. At the very same time, his cavalry deserted him. He tried, however, to lead on his infantry, which were easily vanquished; and he himself was compelled to return into the town. His anger was now ungovernable. He could not avoid crying out, as he passed, that he was betrayed by Cleopatra, and delivered by her to those, who, for her sake alone, were his enemies. In these suspicions, he was perfectly correct; for it was by secret orders from the queen, that the fleet had gone over to the enemy.

Cleopatra had, for a long while, dreaded the effects of Antony's jealousy; and, some time before, had prepared a method of obviating any sudden sallies it might produce. Near the temple of Isis she had erected a building, seemingly designed for a sepulchre. Thither, she removed all her treasures and most valuable effects; covering them over with torches, fagots, and other combustible matter. This sepulchre she designed to answer a double purpose; as well to screen her from the sudden resentments of Antony, as to make Augustus believe that she would burn all her treasures, in case he refused her proper terms of capitulation. Here, therefore, she retired from Antony's present fury; shutting the gates, which were fortified with bolts and bars of iron. In the mean time, she gave orders that a report should be spread of her death; which news soon reached Antony, and recalled all his former tenderness and love. This poor wretch was now subject to the gust of every passion, and each of them in an extreme: he now lamented her death, with the same violence he had but a few minutes before seemed to desire it. "Wretched man," cried he to himself, "what is there now worth living for, since all that could soothe or soften my cares is departed? O Cleopatra!" continued he, "our separation does not so much afflict me, as the disgrace I suffer, in permitting a woman to instruct me in the ways of dying." Being now in his chamber, he called one of

his freedmen, named Eros, whom he had engaged, by oath, to kill him, whenever fortune should drive him to this sad extremity. Eros being commanded to perform his promise, this faithful follower drew the sword, as if going to execute his orders; but, averting his face, he plunged it into his own bosom, and died at his master's feet. Antony for a while hung over his servant, and commending his fidelity, took up the sword, with which stabbing himself in the body, he fell backwards upon a couch. Though the wound was mortal, yet, the blood stopping, he recovered his spirits, and earnestly conjured those who came into the room, to put an end to his life; but they all fled, being seized with affright and horror. He therefore continued in this manner for some time, still crying out and writhing with pain, until he was informed, by one of the queen's secretaries, that his mistress was still alive. He then eagerly desired to be carried to the place where she was. They accordingly brought him to the gate of the sepulchre; but Cleopatra, who would not permit it to be opened, appeared at the window, and threw down cords, by which, with some difficulty, they pulled him up. He was gently laid upon a couch; she giving way to her sorrow, by tearing her clothes, beating her breast, and kissing the wound of which he was dying. Antony entreated her to moderate the transports of her grief, asked for wine, and exhorted her not to lament for his misfortunes, but to congratulate him upon his former felicity: to consider him as one who had lived the most powerful of men, and at last died by the hand of a Roman. Just as he had done speaking, he expired; and Proculus made his appearance, by command of Augustus, who had been informed of Antony's desperate conduct. He was sent to try all means of getting Cleopatra into his power; Augustus having a double motive for his solicitude on this occasion: one, to prevent her destroying the treasures she had taken with her into the tomb; the other, to preserve her person to grace his triumph. Cleopatra, however, was upon her guard, and would not confer with Proculus, except through the gate, which was very well secured. In the mean time, Gallus, one of Augustus' soldiers, entered, with two more, by the window at which Antony had been drawn up, upon which, Cleopatra, perceiving what happened, drew a poignard, and attempted to stab herself, but was prevented.

Augustus was extremely pleased, at finding her in his power: he sent Epaphroditus, to bring her to his palace, with directions to watch her with the utmost circumspection. He was likewise ordered to treat her in every respect with that def-

erence and submission, which were due to her rank; and to do every thing in his power to lessen the tediousness of captivity. She was permitted to have the honour of granting Antony the rites of burial, and furnished with every thing she desired that was becoming his dignity to receive, or her love to offer. Yet still she languished under her new confinement: her excessive sorrow, her many losses, and the blows she had given her bosom, produced a fever, which she seemed willing to increase. She determined to abstain from nourishment, under pretence of a regimen necessary for her disorder; but Augustus, being informed by her physician of her real motive, began to threaten her with regard to her children, in case she persisted.

In the mean time, Augustus made his entry into Alexandria; taking care to mitigate the fears of the inhabitants, by conversing familiarly, as he went along, with Areus, a philosopher and native of the place. The citizens, however, trembled at his approach; and when he placed himself upon the tribunal, they prostrated themselves before him, with their faces to the ground, as criminals who waited the sentence of their execution. Augustus presently ordered them to rise, telling them that three motives induced him to pardon them: his respect for Alexander, the founder of the city; his admiration of its beauty, and his friendship for Areus, their fellow-citizen. Two only of particular note were put to death upon this occasion—Antony's eldest son, Antyllus; and Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar; both betrayed into his hands by their respective tutors, who themselves suffered for their perfidy, shortly afterwards. He treated the rest of Cleopatra's children with great gentleness; leaving them to the care of those entrusted with their education; who had orders to provide them with every thing suitable to their birth. As for the queen, when she had recovered from her late indisposition, he went in person, to visit her. She received him, reclining, in a careless manner, on a couch; and, when he had entered the apartment, she rose up, to prostrate herself before him. She was dressed in nothing but a loose robe: her misfortunes had given an air of severity to her features; her hair was dishevelled, her voice trembling, her complexion pale, and her eyes red with weeping:—yet still her natural beauty seemed to beam through the distress that surrounded her; and the graces of her motion, and the alluring softness of her looks, still bore testimony to her former charms. Augustus raised her, with his usual complaisance; and desiring her to sit, placed himself beside her. Cleopatra had been prepared for this interview, and made use of every method she

could devise, to propitiate the conqueror. She began by attempting to justify her conduct: she tried apologies and allurements, to obtain his favour and soften his resentment; but, when both art and skill failed against manifest proof, she turned her defence into supplications. She talked of Cæsar's humanity to those in distress; she read some of his letters to her, full of tenderness, and enlarged upon the long intimacy which had subsisted between them. "But, of what service," she cried, "are now all his benefits to me!—Why, could I not die with him!—Yet he still lives; methinks I see him still before me!—he revives in you." Augustus was no stranger to this method of address; but he remained firm against every attack; answering always with a cold indifference, which obliged her to give her attempts some other turn. She now addressed his avarice; presenting him with an inventory of her treasures and jewels. This gave occasion to a very singular scene, which shows that the little decorums of breeding were then by no means so carefully attended to, as at present. One of her stewards having alleged that the inventory was incomplete, and that she had secreted part of her effects, she fell into a violent passion, started up, and seizing him by the hair, gave him several blows in the face. Augustus smiled at her indignation; and, leading her back to the couch, desired her to be pacified. To this, she replied, that she could not bear to be insulted in the presence of one whom she so highly esteemed. "And supposing," cried she, "that I have secreted a few trifles; am I to blame, when they are reserved not for myself, but for Livia and Octavia, whom I hope to make my intercessors with you?" This excuse, which intimated a desire of living, was not disagreeable to Augustus; who politely assured her, that she was at liberty to keep whatever she had reserved, and that in every thing she should be indulged to the height of her expectations. He then took leave, and departed; imagining he had reconciled her to life, and to the indignity of being shown in the intended triumph which he was preparing for his return to Rome: but in this he was deceived. Cleopatra, all this time, had kept up a correspondence with Dolabella, a young Roman of high birth, in the camp of Augustus: who, from compassion, or perhaps from stronger motives, was interested in her misfortunes. By him, she was secretly informed, that Augustus determined to send her off, in three days, together with her children, to Rome, to grace his triumphal entry. She now, therefore, made up her mind to die: she threw herself upon Antony's coffin, bewailed her captivity, and renewed her

protestations not to survive him. Having bathed, and ordered a sumptuous banquet, she attired herself in the most splendid manner. She then feasted as usual, and soon afterwards requested all but her attendants, Charmione and Iras, to leave the room. Then, having previously ordered an asp to be secretly conveyed to her, in a basket of fruit, she sent a letter to Augustus, informing him of her fatal purpose, and desiring to be buried in the same tomb with Antony. Augustus, upon receiving the letter, instantly despatched messengers to prevent her design; but they arrived too late. On entering the chamber, they beheld Cleopatra lying dead upon a gilded couch, arrayed in her royal robes. Iras, one of her faithful attendants, was stretched lifeless at the feet of her mistress; and Charmione herself, almost expiring, was settling the diadem upon Cleopatra's head. "Alas!" cried one of the messengers, "was this well done, Charmione?" "Yes," replied she, "it was well done; such a death becomes a glorious queen, descended from a race of noble ancestors." On pronouncing these words, she fell down and died near her beloved mistress.

CHAPTER XXII.

From the beginning of the reign of Augustus, to the death of Domitian, the last of the twelve Cæsars.

By the death of Antony, Augustus became master of the empire. He soon afterwards returned to Rome, in triumph; where, by sumptuous feasts and magnificent shows, he began to obliterate the impressions of his former cruelty, and, thenceforward, resolved to secure by his clemency, a throne, the foundation of which was laid in blood. He was now at the head of the most extensive empire, that mankind had ever concurred in obeying. The former spirit of the Romans, and those characteristic marks which distinguished them from others, were totally lost. However, it is remarkable, that during those long contentions amongst themselves, and those horrid devastations by civil war, the state was daily growing more powerful, and completed the destruction of all the kings who presumed to oppose it.

His first care was to assure himself of the friends of Antony: to which end, he publicly reported that he had burned all Antony's letters and papers, without reading them; convinced,

that whilst any thought themselves suspected, they would be fearful of even offering him their friendship.

Having gained the kingdom by his army, he determined to govern it by the senate. This body, though greatly fallen from their ancient splendour, he knew to be the most orderly, and most capable of exercising wisdom and justice. To them, therefore, he gave the chief power in the administration of his government, whilst he still kept the people and the army steadfast to him, by his largesses and acts of favour. By these means, all the odium of justice fell upon the senate, and all the popularity of pardon was solely his own. Thus restoring to the senate their former magnificence, and discountenancing all corruption, he pretended to reserve to himself a very moderate share of authority, which none could refuse him; namely, an absolute power to compel all ranks of the state to do their duty. This, in fact, was retaining unlimited dominion in his own hands; but the misguided people began to look upon his moderation with astonishment: they considered themselves as restored to their accustomed freedom, except in the capacity of promoting sedition; and the senate supposed their power re-established in all things, but the means of committing injustice. It was even said, that the Romans, by such a government, lost nothing of the happiness which liberty could produce, and were exempt from all the misfortunes it would occasion. This observation might have some truth, under such a monarch as Augustus now seemed to be; but they were taught to change their sentiments under his successors, when they found themselves afflicted with all the punishment that tyranny could inflict, or sedition make necessary.

After having established this admirable order, Augustus found himself agitated by different inclinations; and considered a long time whether he should retain the Imperial authority, or restore the people to their ancient liberty. But he adopted the advice of Mecænas, who desired him to continue in power; and was afterwards swayed by him, not only in this instance, but on every other occasion. By the influence of that minister, he became gentle, affable, and humane. By his advice, it was, that he encouraged men of learning, and gave them much of his time and friendship. They, in return, amused his most anxious hours, and circulated his praise throughout the empire.

Thus, having given peace and happiness, and being convinced of the attachment of all orders of the state to his person, he resolved on impressing the people with a high idea of his magnanimity. This was nothing less than making a show of

resigning his authority; wherefore, having previously instructed his creatures in the senate, how to act, he addressed them in a studied speech, importing the difficulty of governing so extensive an empire; a task, he said, to which none but the immortal gods were equal. He modestly urged his own inability, though impelled by every motive to undertake it; and then, with a degree of seeming generosity, freely gave up all that power, which, as he observed, his arms had gained, and the senate had confirmed. This power, he repeatedly offered to restore, giving them to understand, that the true spirit of the Romans was not lost in him. This speech operated variously upon the senate, as they were more or less in the secret; many believed the sincerity of his professions, and therefore regarded his conduct as an act of heroism, unparalleled by any thing that had hitherto appeared in Rome; others, equally ignorant of his motives, distrusted his designs. Some there were, who, having suffered greatly during the late popular commotions, were fearful of their being renewed: but the majority, who were entirely devoted to his interest, and instructed by his ministers, frequently attempted to interrupt him while speaking, and received his proposal with pretended indignation. These unanimously besought him not to resign the administration; but, upon his continuing to decline their request, they in a manner compelled him to comply. However, that his person might be in greater security, they immediately decreed the pay of his guard to be doubled. On the other hand, that he might seem to make some concessions on his side, he permitted the senate to govern the weak internal divisions of the empire, whilst the most powerful provinces, and those which required the greatest armies for their defence, were taken entirely under his own command. Over these, he assumed the government only for ten years; leaving the people still in hopes of regaining their ancient freedom; but, at the same time, he concerted his measures so well, that his government would be renewed every ten years, until his death.

This show of resignation, only served to confirm him in the empire, and in the hearts of the people. New honours were heaped upon him. He was then first called Augustus, (from *augustus*, a Latin word, signifying *imperial*, *majestic*, (a name I have hitherto used, as that by which he is best known in history. A laurel was ordered to be planted at his gates. His house was called the palace, to distinguish it from that of an ordinary citizen. He was confirmed in the title of father of his country, and his person declared sacred and inviolable. In

short, flattery seemed on the rack to find out new modes of pleasing him; but though he despised the arts of the senate, he permitted their homage; well knowing, that, amongst mankind, titles produce a respect which enforces authority.

Upon entering into his tenth consulship, the senate by oath approved of all his acts, and set him wholly above the power of the laws. They some time afterwards offered to swear, not only to all the laws which he had made, but such as he should make for the future. It was then customary with fathers, on their death bed, to command their children to carry oblations to the capitol, with an inscription to this effect: that at the day of their death they left Augustus in health. It was determined that no man should be put to death on any day upon which the emperor entered the city. Upon a dearth of provisions, the people, in a body, entreated him to accept of the dictatorship: but, though he undertook to be procurator of the provisions, he would by no means accept of the title of dictator, which had been abolished by a law, made when Antony was consul.

This accumulation of titles and employments, did not in the least diminish his assiduity in filling the duties of each. Several very wholesome edicts were passed by his command, tending to suppress corruption in the senate, and licentiousness in the people. He ordered that none should exhibit a show of gladiators, without leave from the senate, and then no oftener than twice a year; nor with more than one-hundred-and-twenty at a time. This law was extremely necessary, at so licentious a period of the empire, when whole armies of those unfortunate men were brought at once upon the stage, and compelled to fight often until half of them were slain. It had been usual also with the knights, and some women of the first distinction, to exhibit themselves as dancers upon the theatre: he ordered that not only they, but also their children and grand-children, should be restrained from such exercises for the future. He fined many who had refused to marry at a certain age; and rewarded those who had many children; but he ordered that females should not be married until twelve years of age. He enacted that the senators should always be held in great reverence; adding to their authority what he had taken from their power. He made a law that no man should have the freedom of the city, without a previous examination into his merit and character. He appointed new rules and limits respecting the manumission of slaves, and was himself very strict in their observance. With regard to players, of whom he was very fond, he severely examined into their morals; not allowing the least

degree of indecency in their conduct, either in society or on the stage. Though he encouraged the athletic exercises, yet he would not permit women to be present; holding it unbecoming the modesty of the sex, to be spectators of those sports which were performed by men entirely divested of their dress. In order to prevent bribery in suing for offices, he took considerable sums of money from the candidates, by way of pledge; which, if any indirect practices were proved against them, they were obliged to forfeit. Slaves had been hitherto disallowed to confess any thing against their own masters; but he abolished the practice, and first sold the slave to another; which transfer altering the property, his examination became free. These, and many other laws, all tending to reform vice or deter from crimes, gave the manners of the people another complexion; so that the rough character of the Roman was now softened into that of the refined citizen.

Indeed, his own example a good deal tended to humanize his fellow-citizens. Being placed above all equality, he had nothing to fear from condescension; wherefore he was familiar with all, and suffered himself to be reprimanded with the most patient humility. Though, by the single authority of his station, he was capable of condemning or acquitting at discretion, yet he gave the laws their proper course, and even sometimes pleaded for those he desired to protect. Thus, Primus, the governor of Macedonia, being brought to trial, for having made war on the Odrisii, a neighbouring people, as he said by command of Augustus, the latter denied the charge; upon which, the advocate of Primus, with an insolent air, desired to know what brought Augustus into court, or who had sent for him. To this, the emperor submissively replied: "The commonwealth;" an answer which greatly pleased the people. On another occasion, one of his veteran soldiers entreated his protection in a certain cause; but Augustus, taking little notice of his request, desired him to apply to an advocate. "Ah," replied the soldier, "it was not by proxy that I served you at the battle of Actium." This reply pleased Augustus so much, that he pleaded his cause in person, and gained it for him. He was extremely affable, and returned the salutation of the poorest individual. One day, a person presented him a petition, but with so much awe, that Augustus was displeased with his meanness. "What, friend," cried he, "you seem as if you were offering something to an elephant, and not to a man. be bolder." Another day, as he was sitting on the tribunal in judgment, Mecænas, perceiving, by his temper, that he was in-

clined to be severe, attempted to speak to him: but not being able to get up to the tribunal, for the crowd, he threw a paper into his lap, on which was written, "arise executioner." Augustus read it without any displeasure; and, immediately rising, pardoned those whom he was before disposed to condemn. But what most of all showed a total change in his disposition, was his treatment of Cornelius Cinna, Pompey's grandson. This nobleman had entered into a very dangerous conspiracy against him; but the plot was discovered, before it was ripe for execution. Augustus for some time debated with himself how to act; but at last his clemency prevailed: he therefore sent for those who were guilty, and, after reprimanding them, dismissed them all. But he resolved to mortify Cinna, by the greatness of his generosity: addressing him in particular, "I have twice," said he, "given you your life; first, as an enemy—now, as a conspirator: I now give you the consulship; let us therefore be friends for the future; and let us only contend in showing whether my confidence or your fidelity shall be victorious." This magnanimity, which the emperor very happily timed, had so good an effect, that from that instant, all conspiracies against him ceased.

In the practice of such virtues as these, he passed a long reign of above forty years, in which the happiness of the people seemed to conspire with his own; however, there were wars in the distant provinces of the empire, during almost his whole reign: but they arose rather from the quelling of insurrection, than the extending of dominion; for he had made it a rule to carry on no operations, in which ambition, and not the safety of the state, was concerned. He seemed the first Roman who aimed at gaining a character by the arts of peace alone; and who, without any military talents, secured the affections of his soldiers. Nevertheless, the Roman arms, under his lieutenants, were crowned with success. The Cantabrians, in Spain, who had revolted, were more than once quelled, by Tiberius, his step-son. Agrippa, his son-in-law, and Ælius Lamia, who followed them into their almost inaccessible mountains, there blocked them up, and compelled them, by famine, to surrender at discretion. The Germans also gave some uneasiness by their repeated incursions into the territories of Gaul; but were repressed by Lollius. The Rhetians were conquered by Drusus, the brother of Tiberius. The Bessi and Sialatæ, barbarous nations, making an irruption into Thrace, were overthrown by Piso, governor of Pamphilia, who gained triumphal honours. The Dacians were repressed, with more than one defeat: the

Arminians also were brought into due subjection, by Caius, his grandson. The Getulians, in Africa, took up arms; but were subdued by the consul, Caius Cossus, who thence received the surname of Getulicus. A dangerous war was carried on also against the Dalmatians and Pantonians; who, having acquired great strength by a long continued peace, accumulated an army of two-hundred-thousand foot and nine-thousand horse, threatening Rome herself with destruction. Levies were therefore made in Italy, with the utmost expedition; the veteran troops were recalled from all parts, and Augustus went to Arminia, for the greater convenience of giving his directions. Indeed, though personal valour was by no means his shining ornament, yet no man could give wiser orders, upon every emergency, or go with greater despatch into all parts of his dominions. This war continued nearly three years; being principally managed by Tiberius and Germanicus, the latter of whom gained reputation during the hostilities with these fierce and barbarous multitudes. Upon their reduction, Batto, their leader, being summoned before the tribunal of Tiberius, and questioned how he could offer to revolt against the power of Rome, the bold barbarian replied, that the Romans, and not he, were the aggressors; since they had sent, instead of dogs and shepherds to secure their flocks, only wolves and bears, to devour them.

U. C. 752. The war which was the most fatal to the Roman interest, during this reign, was that which was conducted by Quintilius Varus. This general, invading the territories of the Germans, was induced to follow the enemy amongst their forests and marshes, with his army in separate bodies; but being attacked by night, he and his whole army were entirely cut off. These were the very best legions of the whole empire, for valour, discipline, and experience. The affliction caused by this defeat, seemed to make a lasting impression on the mind of Augustus. He was often heard to cry out, in a tone of anguish: "Quintilius Varus, restore me my legions;" and some historians pretend to say, that he never afterwards recovered the former serenity of his temper.

But he had some uneasiness, of a domestic nature, which contributed to distress him. With the consent of her husband, he had married Livia, the wife of Tiberius Nero, an imperious woman; who, conscious of his affection, controlled him ever afterwards at her pleasure. She had two sons, by her former husband; Tiberius, the elder, whom she greatly loved, and Drusus, who was born three months after she had been mar-

ried to Augustus, and who was thought to be his own son. Tiberius, whom he afterwards adopted, and who succeeded him in the empire, was a good general, but of a suspicious and obstinate temper; so that though he was serviceable to Augustus in his foreign wars, yet he gave him little quiet at home. He was at last obliged to go into exile for five years, to the island of Rhodes, where he spent his time chiefly in a retired manner, conversing with the Greeks, and addicting himself to literature; of which, however, he made afterwards a bad use. Drusus, died in his return from an expedition against the Germans; leaving Augustus inconsolable for his loss. But his greatest affliction proceeded from the conduct of Julia, his daughter by Scribonia, his former wife. This woman, whom he married to his general, Agrippa, and after his death, to Tiberius, set no bounds to her lewdness. Augustus for a long time would not believe the accounts he daily heard, of her conduct; but at last could not avoid observing them. He found she had arrived at so great an excess of wantonness and prodigality, that she had her nocturnal appointments in the most public parts of the city; the very court, where her father presided, not being exempt from her debaucheries. He at first had thoughts of putting her to death; but, after some consideration, he banished her to Pandataria; forbidding her the use of wine, and all such delicacies as could inflame her vicious inclinations: he ordered also that no person should go near her, without his own permission; and sent her mother Scribonia with her, as a companion. Afterwards, when any one attempted to intercede for Julia, his answer was, that fire and water should sooner unite, than he with her. When some persons were one day more than usually urgent with him in her favour, he was driven into so violent a passion, as to wish that each might have such a daughter. However, she had two sons by Agrippa, named Caius and Lucius, of whom great expectations were formed: but they died when scarcely arrived at man's estate; Lucius, about five years after his father, at Marseilles; and Caius, in two years from the death of his brother. Augustus having now in a great measure survived all his early associates and friends, at length, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, began to think of retiring from the fatigues of state, and partially of continuing Tiberius, his son-in-law, his successor in his usual employments. He desired the senate to salute him no longer at the palace, according to custom; and not to be displeased, if, for the future, he could not converse with them as formerly. From that time, Tiberius was

joined with him in the government of the provinces, and invested with almost the same authority. However, Augustus could not entirely forsake the administration of the state, which habit had associated with his satisfactions; he still continued a watchful guardian of its interests, and showed himself, to the last, a lover of his people. Finding it now, therefore, very inconvenient to go to the senate, by reason of his age, he desired to have twenty privy counsellors assigned him, for a year; and it was decreed that whatever was determined upon by them, together with the consuls, should have entirely the force of a law. He seemed in some measure apprehensive of his approaching end; for he made his will, and delivered it to the vestal virgins. He then solemnized the census, or numbering of the people, whom he found to amount to four-millions one-hundred-and-thirty-seven-thousand: which shows Rome to have been equal to four of the greatest cities of modern times.* Whilst these ceremonies were performing by a mighty concourse of people, it is said that an eagle flew several times around the emperor; and, directing his flight to a neighbouring temple, perched over the name of Agrippa; which was, by the augurs, conceived to portend the emperor's death. Shortly afterwards, having accompanied Tiberius, in his march into Illyria, as far as Beneventum, he was there taken ill of a diarrhœa. Returning, therefore, he came to Nola, near Capua, and there finding himself dangerously ill, he sent for Tiberius, with the rest of his most intimate friends and acquaintances. A few hours before his death, he ordered that a looking-glass should be brought, and his hair adjusted with more than usual care. He then addressed his friends, whom he beheld surrounding his bed, and desired to know whether he had properly played his part in life; to which, being answered in the affirmative, he cried out, with his last breath: "Then, give me your applause;" and thus, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, after reigning forty-one, he expired, in the arms of Livia; bidding her remember their marriage, and taking a farewell.

The death of Augustus, when known, caused inexpressible grief, throughout the whole Roman empire; it was even supposed that his wife Livia had assisted in hastening it, wishing to procure the succession more speedily for her son. However, she took care to keep it for some time concealed, having

* If Dr. Goldsmith, by the above comparison, had *London* in his view, which is highly probable, he might with greater propriety have said—*which shows Rome to have been four times as large as London, one of the greatest cities of modern times.*—*Editor.*

guarded all the approaches to the palace; sometimes giving out that he had recovered, and then pretending a relapse. At length, having settled the succession as she wished, she published the emperor's death, and at the same time the adoption of Tiberius to the empire.

The funeral of Augustus was performed with great magnificence. The senators being in their places, Tiberius, on whom the care was devolved, began a consolatory oration to them, but suddenly stopped in the beginning of his speech, as if unable to restrain the violence of his sorrow; and, instead of continuing, gave his notes to Drusus, his son, who read them to the senate. After this, one of the late emperor's freedmen publicly read his will in the senate-house; by which, he made Tiberius and Livia his heirs, and adopted the latter into the Julian family: being honoured by the name of Augusta. Besides his will, four other writings were produced. One, in which he had left instructions concerning his funeral: another, containing an enumeration of his several exploits: a third, comprising an account of the provinces, forces, and revenues, of the empire; and a fourth, giving a schedule of directions to Tiberius for governing the empire. Amongst these, it was found to have been his opinion, that no man, however great his reputation, should be intrusted with too much authority, lest it should induce him to turn tyrant. Another maxim was, that none should desire to enlarge the empire, which was already preserved with difficulty. Thus, he seemed studious of serving his country to the very last, and the sorrow of the people seemed equal to his assiduity. It was decreed that all the women should mourn for him a whole year. Temples were erected to him; divine honours were allowed him; and one Numerius Atticus, a senator, willing to convert the adulation of the times to his own benefit, received a large sum of money for swearing that he saw him ascending to heaven: so that no doubt remained among the people, concerning his divinity.

Such, were the honours paid to Augustus, whose power began in the slaughter, and terminated in the happiness, of his subjects; so that it was said of him: "It had been good for mankind if he had never been born, or if he had never died." It is very probable that the cruelties exercised in his triumvirate, were suggested by his colleagues; or, perhaps, he thought, in the case of Cæsar's death, that revenge was virtue. There is no doubt, however, that these severities were in some measure necessary, to restore public tranquillity; and Augustus might have supposed that until the Roman spirit was entirely eradi-

cated, no monarchy could be secure. He gave the government an air suited to the disposition of the times; he indulged his subjects in the pride of seeing the appearance of a republic, whilst he made them really happy in the effects of a most absolute monarchy, guided by the most consummate prudence. In this last virtue, he seems to have excelled almost every other monarch; and, indeed, could we separate Octavius from Augustus, he would be one of the most estimable princes in history.

U. C. Tiberius was fifty-six years old when he took upon
 767. him the government of the Roman empire. He had
 A. D. 15. lived a considerable time in a profound state of dissimulation, under Augustus; and was not yet hardy enough to show himself in his real character. In the beginning of his reign, nothing appeared but prudence, generosity, and clemency. But the success of Germanicus, his nephew, over the Germans, first brought his natural disposition to light, and discovered the malignity of his mind without disguise. He soon began to consult on the most specious means of humbling the popularity of Germanicus, and removing the object of his suspicions. For this purpose, he despatched to his nephew, Piso, who was a person of furious and headstrong temper, and in every respect fit to execute those fatal purposes for which he was employed. His instructions were, to oppose Germanicus upon every occasion; to excite all the hatred against him which he could without suspicion; and even to procure his death, if an opportunity should offer. This agent succeeded: Germanicus died soon afterwards; as it was universally believed, by poison.

Having now no object of jealousy to keep him in awe, he began to throw off the mask, and appear more in his natural character, than before. In the beginning of his cruelties he took into his confidence, Sejanus, a Roman knight; who found out the method of ingratiating himself with his patron, by the most refined degree of dissimulation; being an overmatch for his master, in his own arts. It is not well known whether he was the adviser of all the cruelties that ensued; but certain it is, that from the beginning of his ministry, Tiberius seemed to become more fatally suspicious.

Sejanus began by using all his address to persuade Tiberius to retire to some agreeable retreat, remote from Rome. By this, he expected many advantages; since there could be no access to the emperor, except through him. The emperor, either prevailed upon by his persuasions, or pursuing the natural

turn of his temper, which led to indolence and debauchery, in the twelfth year of his reign left Rome, and went into Campania; under pretence of dedicating temples to Jupiter and Augustus. Still growing weary of places where mankind might follow him with their complaints and distresses, he withdrew into that most delightful island, Caprea, three miles from the continent, and opposite to Naples; and buried in this retreat, he gave himself up to his abandoned pleasures, quite regardless of the miseries of his subjects.

In fact, it would have been happy for mankind, had he given up his suspicions when he declined the fatigues of reigning; and resigned the will to do harm, when he divested himself of the power of doing good. But, from the time of his retreat he became more cruel, and Sejanus always endeavoured to increase his malignity. Spies and informers were placed in all parts of the city, who converted the most harmless actions into subjects of offence.

In consequence, Nero and Drusus, the children of Germanicus, were declared enemies to the state, and afterwards starved to death in prison; whilst Agrippina, their mother, was sent into banishment. Sabinus, Assinius Gallus, and Syriacus, were, upon slight pretences, condemned and executed. In this manner, Sejanus proceeded, removing all who stood between him and the empire, and every day increasing in confidence with Tiberius, and in power with the senate. The number of his statues exceeded those of the emperor: people swore by his fortune, in the same manner as they would have done even had he been upon the throne; and he was more dreaded than the tyrant who actually possessed the empire. But the rapidity of his rise seemed only preparatory to the greatness of his downfall. All we know of his first disgrace with the emperor, is, that Sarius Secundus was the man who had the boldness to accuse him of treason; and Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, seconded the accusation. The senate, who had long been jealous of his power, and dreaded his cruelty, immediately took the opportunity of going beyond the orders of Tiberius; and, instead of sentencing him to imprisonment, they directed his execution. As he was conducting to his fate, the people loaded him with insult and execration. He was pursued with sarcastic reproaches; his statues were instantly thrown down, and he himself shortly afterwards strangled by the executioner.

His death only inflamed the emperor's rage for increasing the executions. Plancina, the wife of Piso, Sextus Vestilius,

Vesularius Atticus, and Julius Marinus, suffered death, by his command, for being attached to Sejanus. He began to grow weary of particular executions, and gave orders that all the accused should be put to death together, without further examination. The whole city was filled with slaughter and mourning. When one Carnulius had killed himself, to avoid the torture: "Ah," cried Tiberius, "how has that man been able to escape me!" When a prisoner earnestly entreated that he would not defer his death: "No," cried the tyrant, "I am not sufficiently your friend, to shorten your torments."

In this manner, he lived, odious to all the world, and troublesome to himself; an enemy to the lives of others, and a tormentor of his own. At length, in the twenty-second year of his reign, he began to feel the approaches of his dissolution, and all his appetites totally to forsake him. He now, therefore, found it was time to think of a successor, and shortly afterwards fixed upon Caligula: (son of Germanicus, by Agrippina, and grandson of Tiberius:) anxious, perhaps, by the enormity of Caligula's conduct, to cover the memory of his own.

Still, however, he seemed willing to avoid his end; and strove, by change of place, to divert the inquietude of his own reflections. He left his favourite island, and went upon the continent; and at last stopped on the promontory of Misenum, in a house which formerly belonged to Lucullus. Here, happening to fall into fits, extremely violent, all believed they were fatal. Caligula, supposing him actually dead, caused himself to be acknowledged by the prætorian soldiers, and went forth from the emperor's apartment, amidst the applauses of the multitude;—but suddenly he was informed that the emperor had recovered, that he had begun to speak, and desired to eat. This unexpected account filled the whole court with terror and amazement—every one who before had been earnest in testifying his joy, now re-assumed his pretended sorrow, and left the new emperor through a feigned solicitude for the fate of the old. Caligula seemed thunderstruck: he preserved a gloomy silence, expecting nothing but death, instead of the empire at which he aspired. Macro, however, who was harden-

ed in crimes, ordered that the dying emperor should
 U. C. be despatched, by smothering him with pillows, or, as
 790. others will have it, by poison. In this manner, Ti-
 A. D. 39. berius died, in the seventy-eighth year of his age,
 after having reigned twenty-two.

It was in the eighteenth year of this monarch's reign, that Christ was crucified. Shortly after his death, Pilate wrote to

Tiberius an account of his passion, resurrection, and miracles; upon which, the emperor made a report of the whole to the senate, desiring that Christ might be accounted a god by the Romans. But the senate, displeased that the proposal had not come first from themselves, refused to allow his apotheosis; alleging an ancient law, which gave them the superintendence in all matters of religion. They even went so far, as by an edict, to command that all christians should leave the city: but Tiberius, by another act, threatened death to any who should accuse them; by which means, they continued unmolested, during the rest of his life.

All the enormities of Caligula were concealed in the beginning of his reign. But it would have been happy for himself and for the empire, had such a commencement been as strenuously maintained. In less than eight months, all appearance of moderation and clemency vanished; whilst furious passions, unexampled avarice, and capricious cruelty, began to take their turn in his mind. Pride, impiety, lust, avarice, and all in the extreme, were every moment displayed.

His pride first began by assuming to himself the appellation of Ruler, which was granted only to kings. He would also have taken the crown and diadem, had he not been advised that he was already superior to all the monarchs in the world. Not long afterwards, he assumed divine honours, and gave himself the name of such divinities as he thought agreeable to his nature. For this purpose, he caused the heads of the statues of Jupiter, and some other gods, to be struck off, and the image of his own head to be put in the place of each. He frequently seated himself between Castor and Pollux, and ordered that all who came to their temple, to worship, should pay their adorations only to him. However, such was the extravagant inconstancy of this unaccountable ideot, that he changed his divinity as often as he changed his clothes—being at one time a male deity, at another a female; sometimes, Jupiter or Mars, and not unfrequently Venus or Diana. He even built and dedicated a temple to his own divinity; in which, his statue of gold was every day dressed in similar robes to those which he himself wore, and was worshipped by crowds of adorers. His priests were numerous: the sacrifices made to him were of the most exquisite delicacies that could be procured, and the dignity of the priesthood was sought by the most opulent men of the city. However, he admitted his wife and his horse to that honour; and to give a finishing stroke to his absurdities, he became a priest to himself. His method of as

suming the manners of a deity, was not less ridiculous; he often went out during the full moon, and courted it in the style of a lover. He employed many inventions to imitate thunder, and would frequently defy Jupiter; crying out, in a speech of Homer, "Do you conquer me, or I will conquer you." He frequently pretended to converse in whispers with the statue of Jupiter, and usually seemed angry at its replies; threatening to send it packing into Greece. Sometimes, however, he would assume a better temper, and appeared contented that both should dwell together in amity.

Of all his vices, his prodigality was the most remarkable, and that which in some measure gave rise to the rest. The luxuries of former emperors were simplicity itself, when compared to those which he practised. He contrived new ways of bathing, when the richest oils and most precious perfumes were exhausted, with the utmost profusion. He invented dishes, made at an immense expense; and had even jewels, as we are told, dissolved amongst his sauces. Instead of meat, he sometimes had services of pure gold presented before his guests; observing that a man should be an economist or an emperor.

The expensive manner in which he maintained his horse, will give some idea of his domestic economy. He built for him a stable of marble, with a manger of ivory. Whenever this animal, which he called Incitatus, was to run, he placed centinels near the stable, the night preceding, to prevent his slumbers being broken. He appointed him a house, furniture, and kitchen, to treat all his visitors with proper respect. The emperor sometimes invited Incitatus to his own table, and presented him gilt oats, and wine in a gold cup. He often swore by the safety of his horse; and it is said he would have appointed him to the consulship, had not his death prevented.

His impiety was but subordinate to his cruelties. He slew many of the senate, and afterwards cited them to appear as if they had killed themselves. He cast great numbers of old, infirm, and decrepid persons, to wild beasts, to free the state from such unserviceable citizens. He usually fed his wild beasts with the bodies of those wretches whom he had condemned; and every tenth day sent off many of them to be thus devoured, which he jocosely called clearing his accounts. One of these who was thus exposed, crying out that he was innocent, he ordered his tongue to be cut out. He took delight in killing men by slow tortures, that, as he expressed it, they might feel themselves dying; being himself always present at such

executions, directing the duration of the punishment, and mitigating the tortures, merely to prolong them. In fact, he valued himself for no quality more than this unrelenting temper and inflexible severity, which he maintained while presiding at an execution. At one time, being incensed at the citizens of Rome, he wished that all the Roman people had but one neck; that he might despatch them at a blow.

Such insupportable and capricious cruelties, produced many conspiracies against him; but they were for a while deferred on account of his intended expedition against the Germans and Britains, which he undertook in the third year of his reign. For this purpose, he caused numerous levies to be made, in all

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parts of the empire, and talked with so much resolution, that it was universally believed he would conquer all before him. His march perfectly indicated the inequality of his temper: sometimes it was so rapid that the cohorts were obliged to leave their standards behind them; at other times, so slow, that it more resembled a pompous procession, than a military expedition. When in this humour, he would cause himself to be carried on eight men's shoulders, and order all the neighbouring cities to have their streets well swept and watered, to defend him from the dust. However, all these mighty preparations ended in nothing. Instead of conquering Britain, he only gave refuge to one of its banished princes; and this, in his letter to the senate, he described as taking possession of the whole island. Instead of conquering Germany, he only led his army to the sea-shore in Batavia. There, disposing his engines and warlike machines with great solemnity, and drawing his men up in order of battle, he went on board his galley; with which, coasting along, he commanded his trumpets to sound, and the signal to be given, as if for an engagement. Upon this, his men, having had previous orders, immediately began to gather the shells which lay upon the sea-shore, into their helmets; terming them the spoils of the conquered ocean, worthy of the palace and the capitol. After this doughty expedition, calling his army together, as a general after victory, he harangued them, in a pompous manner, and highly extolled their achievements; then, distributing money amongst them, he dismissed them, with orders to be joyful, and congratulated them upon their riches. But, that such exploits should not pass without a memorial, he caused a lofty tower to be erected, by the sea-side; and ordered the galleys in which he had put to sea, to be conveyed to Rome, in a great measure by land.

Cassius Cherea, tribune of the prætorian bands, was the person who at last freed the world of this tyrant. Besides the motives in common to him with other men, he had received repeated insults from Caligula, who took all occasions of turning him into ridicule and impeaching him of cowardice, merely because he had an effeminate voice. Whenever Cherea came, according to custom, to demand the watch-word from the emperor, he always gave him Venus—Adonis—or some other name of similar import, implying effeminacy and softness. He therefore secretly imparted his designs to several senators and knights, whom he knew to have received personal injuries from Caligula: amongst them, was Valerius Asiaticus, whose wife the emperor had dishonoured. Annius Vincianus, also, was desirous of engaging in the first design that offered; together with Clemens, the præfect, and Calistus, whose riches made him subject to the tyrant's resentment.

Whilst these were deliberating on the most certain and speedy method of destroying him, an unexpected incident gave new strength to the conspiracy. Pompedius, a senator of distinction, being accused before the emperor of having spoken of him with disrespect, the emperor cited one Quintilia, an actress, to confirm the charge. Quintilia, however, possessed a degree of fortitude not always found in the other sex: she denied the fact, with obstinacy; and, at the informer's request, being put to the torture, she bore the severest torments of the rack with unshaken constancy. But what seems most remarkable of her resolution, is, that she was acquainted with all the particulars of the conspiracy; and, although Cherea was the person appointed to preside at her torture, she revealed nothing: on the contrary, when she was led to the rack, she trod on the toe of one of the conspirators; intimating at once her knowledge of the confederacy, and her own resolution not to divulge it. In this manner she suffered, until all her limbs were dislocated; and in that deplorable state, was presented to the emperor, who ordered a gratuity by way of compensation for her sufferings. Cherea could no longer contain his indignation, at being thus made the instrument of a tyrant's cruelty. After several deliberations with the conspirators, it was at last agreed to attack him at the Palatine games, which lasted four days; and to strike the blow when the guards should have the least opportunity to defend him. The first three days, however, passed without affording an opportunity. Cherea now, therefore, began to apprehend, that deferring the time of the conspiracy might be a means of divulging it: he even feared that the kill-

ing of the tyrant might fall to the lot of some other person, more bold than himself; wherefore, he at last determined to defer the execution of his plot no longer than the day following, when Caligula should pass through a private gallery, to some baths, not far distant from the palace.

The last day of the games was more splendid than the rest, and Caligula seemed more sprightly and condescending than usual. He took great amusement in seeing the people scramble for the fruit and other rarities, thrown by his order amongst them; and seemed no way apprehensive of the plot formed for his destruction. In the mean time, the conspiracy began to transpire; and had he any friends left, it could not have failed of being discovered. A senator who was present, asking one of his acquaintances if he had heard any thing new, the other replying in the negative, "Then you must know," says he, "that this day will be represented the death of a tyrant." The other immediately understood him, but desired him to be more cautious how he divulged a secret of so much importance. The conspirators waited a great part of the day, in extreme anxiety; and at one time, Caligula seemed determined to spend the whole day without any refreshment. This unexpected delay entirely exasperated Cherea; and had he not been restrained, he would have gone and perpetrated his design in the midst of all the people. Just at that instant, whilst he was yet hesitating what he should do, Asprenas, one of the conspirators, persuaded Caligula to go to the bath, and take some slight refreshment, in order to enjoy the rest of the entertainment with greater relish. The emperor, therefore, rising up, the confederates used every precaution to keep off the throng; surrounding him, under pretence of greater assiduity. Upon his entering into a vaulted gallery which led from the theatre to the bath, they resolved to despatch him. Cherea first struck him to the ground with his dagger, crying out: "Tyrant, think upon this." Immediately afterwards, the other conspirators rushed in; and, whilst the emperor continued to resist, exclaiming that he was not yet dead, they despatched him with thirty wounds.

Such was the death of Caius Caligula, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a short reign of three years, ten months, and eight days. It is unnecessary to add any thing more to his character, than what Seneca says of him:—that nature seemed to have brought him forth, to show what was possible to be produced from the greatest vice, supported by the greatest authority.

U. C. 794. As soon as the death of Caligula was made public, it produced the greatest confusion in all parts of the city. The conspirators, who had aimed only at destroying a tyrant, without intending to a successor, all sought safety, by retiring to private houses. Some soldiers, happening to run about the palace, observed a man, Caligula's uncle, lurking in a secret place, and passing himself through fear. Of this personage, who was despised for his imbecility, they determined to make an emperor; and, accordingly, carried him away from the camp, where they proclaimed him at a time he expected nothing but death; and the senate confirmed their choice.

Claudius was fifty years old when he began to reign. The complicated diseases of his infancy had in some measure affected the powers both of his body and mind. He was continued in a state of pupillage much longer than was usual at that time; and seemed in every part of life incapable of conducting himself.

The commencement of his reign, as with all the bad emperors, gave the most promising hopes of a happy continuance. He began by passing an act of oblivion with respect to all former words and actions, and annulled all the cruel edicts of Caligula. He showed himself more moderate than his predecessors, with regard to titles and honours. He forbade all persons, under severe penalties, to sacrifice to him, as they had done to Caligula. He was assiduous in hearing and examining complaints, and frequently administered justice in person; tempering, by his mildness, the severity of the law.

To his solicitude for the internal advantages of the state, he added a watchful guardianship over the provinces. He restored Judea to Herod Agrippa, which Caligula had taken from Herod Antipas, his uncle, the man who had put to death John the Baptist, and who was banished by order of the present emperor. Claudius reinstated in their kingdoms, those princes also who had been unjustly dethroned by his predecessors, but deprived the Lycians and Rhodians of their liberty, for having promoted insurrection, and crucified some citizens of Rome.

He even undertook to gratify the people by foreign conquest. The Britains, who had for nearly one-hundred years been left in sole possession of their own island, began to seek the mediation of Rome, to quell their intestine commotions. The principal man who desired to subject his native country to the Roman dominion, was one Bericus, who, by many arguments, persuaded the emperor to make a descent upon the island;

magnifying the advantages which would attend the conquest. In pursuance of his advice, therefore, Plautius, the prætor, was ordered to pass over into Gaul, and make preparations for this great expedition. At first, indeed, the soldiers seemed backward to embark, declaring that they were unwilling to make war beyond the limits of the world—for so they judged Britain to be. However, they were at last persuaded to go; and the Britons, under the conduct of their king Cynobelinus, were several times overthrown.

A. D. 46. These successes soon afterwards induced Claudius himself to go into Britain, on pretence that the natives were still seditious, and that they had not delivered up some Roman fugitives, who had taken shelter amongst them. This expedition seemed calculated rather for show, than service: the time he continued in Britain, about sixteen days, was more taken up in receiving homage, than extending his conquests. However, great rejoicings were made, upon his return to Rome. The senate decreed him a splendid triumph: triumphal arches were erected to his honour, and annual games instituted, to commemorate his victories. In the mean time, war was vigorously prosecuted by Plautius, and his lieutenant Vespasian; who, according to Suetonius, fought thirty battles with the enemy, and by that means reduced a part of the island into the form of a Roman province. However, this war broke out afresh, under the government of Ostorius, who A. D. 51. succeeded Plautius. The Britains, either despising his inexperience, or hoping to gain advantage over a person newly invested with command, rose up in arms, and disclaimed the Roman power. The Icenî, the Cangi, and the Brigantes, made a powerful resistance, though they were at length overcome; but the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales, under their king Caractacus, were the most formidable opponents that the Roman generals had ever yet encountered. This brave barbarian not only made a gallant defence, but often seemed to claim a doubtful victory. He removed the seat of war into the least accessible parts of the country, and for nine years kept the Romans in continual alarm.

This general, however, upon the approach of Ostorius, finding himself obliged to come to a decisive engagement, addressed his countrymen with calm resolution; telling them, that this battle would either establish their liberty, or confirm their servitude—that they ought to remember the bravery of their ancestors, by whose valour they were delivered from taxes and tributes, and that this was the time to show themselves equal to their

progenitors. Nothing, however, that undisciplined valour was able to perform, could avail against the Roman legions. After an obstinate fight, the Britons were entirely routed. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners; and he himself, seeking refuge with Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, was treacherously given up to the conquerors. When he was brought to Rome, nothing could exceed the curiosity of the people to behold a man who had for so many years braved the power of the empire. On his part, he testified no mark of base dejection; but, as he was led through the streets, happening to observe the splendour of every object around him, "Alas," cried he, "how is it possible, that people possessed of such magnificence at home, could think of envying Caractacus an humble cottage in Britain!" When he was brought before the emperor, whilst the other captives begged for pity with the most abject lamentations, Caractacus stood before the tribunal with an intrepid air, and seemed rather willing to accept a pardon, than meanly solicitous of suing for it. "If," cried he, towards the end of his speech, "I had yielded immediately, and without opposition, neither my fortune would have been remarkable, nor my glory memorable;—you would have ceased to be victorious, and I should have been forgotten. If now, therefore, you spare my life, I shall continue a perpetual example of your clemency." Claudius had the generosity to pardon him, and Ostorius was decreed a triumph; which, however, he did not long live to enjoy.

In the beginning of his reign, Claudius gave the highest hopes of a happy continuance; but he soon began to lessen his care for the public, and to commit to his favourites all the concerns of the empire. This weak prince, from his infancy, had been in a state of pupillage; and now, when called to govern, was unable to act but under the direction of others. The chief of his instructors was his wife Messelina, whose name has almost become a common appellation for women of abandoned character.

By her, was Claudius urged on to commit cruelties which he considered only as wholesome severities, whilst her debaucheries became every day more notorious, and her lewdness exceeded any thing that had ever been seen in Rome. Her crimes and enormities, however, being at length discovered, she, together with her paramour, Caius Silius, suffered that death which they had so justly deserved.

Claudius took for his second wife, Agrippina, the daughter of his brother Germanicus; a woman of cruel and ambitious

spirit, whose whole aim being to procure the succession for Nero, her son by a former marriage, she treated Claudius with such haughtiness, that he was heard to declare, when heated with wine, that it was his fate to suffer the disorders of his wives, and to be their executioner. This expression sunk deep in her mind, and engaged all her faculties, to prevent the blow. She therefore resolved not to defer a crime meditated by her a long while before; which was, to poison him. She for some time, however, debated within herself, in what manner she should administer the poison; fearing that too strong a dose would discover her treachery, and that one too weak might fail in its effect. At length, she fixed on a drug of singular efficacy, to destroy his intellects, and yet not suddenly to terminate his life. As she had been long conversant in this horrid practice, she applied to a woman, called Locusta, notorious for assisting on such occasions. The poison was administered amongst mushrooms; a dish of which he was particularly fond. Shortly after having eaten, he dropped down insensible; but this caused no alarm, as it was usual for him to sit indulging, until he had stupified all his faculties, and it became necessary to carry him off to his bed. However, his constitution seemed to overcome the effects of the poison; and Agrippina therefore ordered a wretched physician, who was her creature, to thrust a poisoned feather down his throat, under pretence of an emetic; which despatched him.

U. C. Nero, though only seventeen years of age, began
793. his reign with the general approbation of mankind.
A. D. 55. He appeared just, liberal, and humane: when a warrant for the execution of a criminal was brought him to be signed, he was heard to cry out, with apparent concern: "Would to heaven, that I had never learned to write!"

But, as he increased in years, his crimes seemed to increase in equal proportion. The execution of his own mother Agrippina, was the first alarming instance of his cruelty. Failing in an attempt to have her drowned at sea, he ordered that she should be put to death in her palace; and going himself to gaze upon the dead body, was heard to say, that he never thought his mother had been so handsome.

All the bonds of virtue being thus broken through, Nero now gave a loose to his appetites, which were not only sordid but inhuman. There seemed an odd contrast in his disposition; for, while he practised cruelties sufficient to make the mind shudder with horror, he was fond of those amusing arts which soften and refine the heart. He was particularly ad-

dicted, even from his childhood, to music, and not totally ignorant of poetry: but chariot driving was his favourite pursuit; and all these he was frequently seen to exhibit in public.

It would have been happy for mankind, had he confined himself to these; and, satisfied with being contemptible, sought not also to become formidable. His cruelties outdid even all his other extravagancies. He seemed also studious of finding out pleasures, as well as crimes, against nature. Being attired in the habit of a woman, and covered with a yellow veil, like a bride, he was wedded to one of his abominable companions, called Pythagoras, and again to his freedman Doriphorus. A great part of the city of Rome was consumed by fire, in his time; and most historians ascribe the conflagration to him. It is said that he stood upon a high tower, during the continuance of the flames, enjoying the sight, and repeating, in a player's habit, and in a theatrical manner, some verses upon the destruction of Troy. As a proof of his guilt upon this occasion, no assistance was permitted towards extinguishing the flames; and several persons were seen setting fire to the houses, alleging that they had orders. However this was, the emperor used every effort to throw the odium of so detestable an action upon the Christians, who were at that time gaining ground in Rome. Nothing could be more dreadful than the persecution raised against them, upon this fatal occasion. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and in that figure devoured by dogs. Some were crucified, and others burned alive. "When the day was not sufficient for their tortures," says Tacitus, "the flames in which they perished served to illuminate the night; whilst Nero, dressed in the habit of a charioteer, regaled himself with their torments, from his gardens, and entertained the people at one time with their sufferings, at another with the games of the circus." In this persecution, St. Paul was beheaded, and St. Peter crucified with his head downwards; which manner of death he chose, as being more dishonourable than that of his Master.

A conspiracy formed against Nero, by Piso, a man of great power and integrity, which was prematurely discovered, opened a new train of suspicion that destroyed many of the principal families in Rome. The two most remarkable personages who fell on this occasion, were Seneca the philosopher, and Lucan the poet, who was his nephew. Nero, either having real testimony against him, or hating him for his virtues, sent a tribune to Seneca, informing him that he was suspected as an accomplice. The tribune found the philosopher at table with Pau-

lina, his wife; and, informing him of his business, Seneca, without any emotion, replied: that his welfare depended upon no man; that he had never been accustomed to indulge the errors of the emperor, and would not do so now. When this answer was brought to Nero, he demanded whether Seneca seemed afraid of death. The tribune replying that he did not appear in the least terrified: "Then go to him again," said the emperor, "and give him my orders to die." Accordingly, he sent a centurion to Seneca, signifying that it was the emperor's pleasure that he should die. Seneca seemed no way discomposed. He endeavoured to console his wife, for his loss, and exhorted her to a life of persevering virtue. But she seemed determined on not surviving him, and pressed her request to die with him, so earnestly, that Seneca, who had long looked upon death as a benefit, at last gave his consent; and the veins of both their arms were opened at the same time. As Seneca was old, and much enfeebled by the austerities of his life, the blood flowed but slowly; so that he caused the veins of his legs and thighs also to be opened. His pains were long and violent; but they were not capable of repressing his fortitude, or his eloquence. He dictated a discourse to two secretaries, which was read with great avidity after his death, by the people; but it has since perished in the wreck of time. His agonies being now drawn out to a great length, he at last demanded poison from his physician: but this also failed in its effect; his body being already exhausted, and incapable of exciting its operation. He was then carried into a warm bath, which served only to prolong his sufferings: at length, therefore, he was put into a stove, the vapour of which quickly despatched him. At this time, his wife Paulina, having fallen into a swoon, from the loss of blood, had her arms bound up by her domestics; by which means, she survived her husband for some years, and by her conduct during the rest of her life, seemed always mindful of her own love, and his example.

The death of Lucan (classically *Lucanus*) was not less remarkable. The veins of his arms being opened, after he had lost a great quantity of blood, perceiving his hands and legs already dead, whilst the vital parts still continued warm and vigorous, he called to mind a description in his own poem, the *Pharsalia*, of a person dying in similar circumstances; and expired whilst he was repeating that beautiful passage:

"Nec sicut vulnere sanguis

"Emicuit lentus. Ruptis cadit undique venis

"————— Pars ultima trunci.

'Tradidit in lethum vacuos, vitalibus artus,
 "At tumidos qua pulmo jacet, qua viscera fervent
 "Hæserunt ibi fata diu: Luctataque multum
 "Hac cum parte, viri vix omnia membra tulerunt."

U. C. 817. The death of Petronius about this time, is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. This person, whom many modern historians suppose to be the author of a work of no great merit, entitled *Satyricon*, which is still remaining, was an epicurean, both in principle and practice. Even in so luxurious a court as that of Nero, he was particularly noted for his refinement in luxury. He was accused of being acquainted with Piso's conspiracy, and committed to prison. Petronius could not endure the anxiety of suspense, wherefore he resolved upon putting himself to death; which he performed in a manner corresponding with the way in which he had lived. He opened his veins, and then closed them—then opened them again, as his feelings prompted, with the utmost cheerfulness and tranquillity. He conversed with his friends, not on maxims of philosophy, or grave subjects, but upon such topics as had amused his gayest revels. He listened whilst they recited the lightest poems, and by no action, no word nor circumstance, betrayed the perplexity of a dying person. Shortly after him, Numicius Thermus was put to death, as likewise Barea Soranus, and Pætus Thræseas. The destroying of the two last, Tacitus calls an attack upon virtue itself. Thræseas died in the midst of his friends and philosophers, conversing and reasoning on the nature of the soul. His wife, who was the daughter of the celebrated Arria, was desirous of following her mother's example; but he dissuaded her from it. The death of the valiant Corbulo, who had gained Nero so many advantages over the Parthians, followed next. Nor did the empress Poppea herself escape. At length, human nature grew weary of being her own persecutor, and the whole world seemed to rouse, as if by common consent, to rid the earth of a monster.

Sergius Galba, at that time governor of Spain, was equally remarkable for his wisdom in peace, and his courage in war; but, as all talents under corrupt princes are dangerous, he, for some years, had seemed willing to court obscurity, giving himself up to an inactive life, and avoiding every opportunity of signalizing his valour.

But, anxious to free his country of a disgrace to human nature, he accepted the invitation of Vindex, to march with an army towards Rome. The reputation of that general was such,

that from the moment he declared against Nero, the tyrant considered himself as at an end. He received the account when at supper; and, instantly struck with terror, overturned the table with his foot, breaking two crystal vases of immense value. He then fell into a swoon; from which, when he recovered, he tore his clothes, and struck his head, crying out, that he was utterly undone. He now, therefore, called for Locusta to furnish him with poison; and thus prepared for the worst in this life, he retired to the Servilian gardens, with a resolution of flying into Egypt. Being prevented in this, and the revolt becoming general, he went from house to house, but every door was shut against him, and none found to answer his enquiries. Now reduced to a state of desperation, he desired that one of his favourite gladiators might come to despatch him; but even in this request there was none who would obey. "Alas!" cried he, "have I neither friend nor enemy!" and then, running desperately forth, seemed resolved to plung headlong into the Tyber. But just then, his courage beginning to fail him, he made a sudden stop, as if willing to recall his reason, and asked for some secret place, where he might re-assume his courage, and meet death with becoming fortitude. In this distress, Phaon, one of his freedmen, offered him his country-house, about four miles distant, where he might for some time remain concealed. Nero accepted his offer; and, half dressed as he was, with his head covered, and hiding his face with his handkerchief, he mounted on horseback, attended by two of his domestics, of whom the wretched Sporus was one. His journey, though short, was crowded with adventures. An earthquake gave him the first alarm. The lightning from heaven next flashed in his face. Around him, he heard nothing but confused noises from the camp, and the cries of the soldiers, imprecating a thousand evils on his head. A passenger meeting him on the way, cried: "There go men, in pursuit of Nero." Another asked him was there any news of Nero in the city. His horse taking fright at a dead body which lay on the road, he dropped his handkerchief; and a soldier who was near, addressed him by name. He now, therefore, quitted his horse, and forsaking the high road, entered a thicket that led towards the back part of Phaon's house, through which he crept, making the best of his way amongst the reeds and brambles with which the place was overgrown.

During this interval, the senate, finding the prætorian guards had taken part with Galba, declared him emperor, and condemned Nero to die, "*more majorum*;" that is, according to

the rigour of the ancient laws. When told of the resolution of the senate, he asked the messenger what was meant by being punished according to the rigour of the ancient laws. He answered, that the criminal was to be stripped naked, his head to be fixed in a pillory, and in that posture he was to be scourged to death. Nero was so terrified at this, that he seized two poignards which he had brought with him; but, having examined their points, he returned them into their shield; pretending that the fatal moment had not yet arrived. He then desired Sporus to begin the lamentations which were made at funerals: he next entreated that some of his attendants would die, to give him courage by their example; and afterwards began to reproach his own cowardice; crying out: "Does this become Nero? Is this trifling well timed? No, no; let me be courageous." There was no time indeed, to spare: the soldiers who had been sent in pursuit of him, were just then approaching the house: wherefore, hearing the sound of the horses' feet, he put a dagger to his throat, with which, by the assistance of Epaphroditus, his freedman and secretary, he gave himself a mortal wound. However, he was not yet quite dead, when one of the centurions entering the room, and pretending to come to his relief, attempted to stop the blood with his cloak. But Nero, regarding him with a stern countenance, said: "It is now too late. Is this your fidelity?" Upon which, with his eyes fixed, and frightfully staring, he expired; even in death a ghastly spectacle of innoxious tyranny.

He reigned thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days, and died in the thirty-second year of his age.

U. C. Galba was seventy-two years old, when he was de-
 821. clared emperor, and was then in Spain with his le-
 A. D. 69. gions. However, he soon found that his elevation
 to the throne was but an inlet to new disquietudes. He seemed to have three objects in view: to curb the insolence of the soldiers: to punish those vices which had arrived at an enormous height in the last reign; and to replenish the exchequer, which had been quite drained, by the prodigality of his predecessors. But permitting himself to be governed by favourites, he at one time showed himself severe and frugal, at another remiss and prodigal; condemning some illustrious persons without a hearing, and pardoning others, though guilty. In consequence of this, many seditions were kindled, and several factions promoted in different parts of the empire, but particularly in Germany.

Galba, being informed of these commotions, was sensible that besides his age, he was less respected for not having an heir. He determined, therefore, to put what he had formerly designed in execution, and to adopt some person whose virtues might deserve such advancement, and protect his declining age. His favourites, understanding his intention, instantly resolved on giving him an heir of their own choosing; so that upon this occasion, there arose a great contention amongst them. Otho made warm application for himself; alleging the great services he had done the emperor, as being the first man of note who came to his assistance, when he had declared against Nero. However, Galba, being fully resolved to consult the public good, only, rejected his suit; and, on a day appointed, ordered Piso Lucinianus to attend him. The character given of Piso, by historians, is, that he was every way worthy of the honour designed him. He was no way related to Galba, and had no other interest than merit, to recommend him to his favour. Taking this youth, therefore, by the hand, in the presence of his friends, he adopted him to succeed in the empire; giving him the most wholesome lessons for guiding his future conduct. Piso's behaviour showed that he was highly deserving this distinction: in all his deportment, there appeared that modesty, firmness, and evenness of mind, which bespoke him rather capable of discharging the duties of his present dignity, than ambitious of obtaining it. But the army and the senate did not seem equally uninterested upon this occasion: they had been so long used to bribery and corruption, that they could now bear no emperor who was not in a capacity of satisfying their avarice. The adoption, therefore, of Piso was but coldly received; for his virtues were no recommendation to a people of universal depravity.

Otho, who had been a great favourite of Galba, and hoped to be adopted his successor in the empire, finding his expectations disappointed, and still further stimulated by an immense load of debts, which he had contracted by his riotous way of living, determined on obtaining by force, what he could not by peaceable succession. Having corrupted the fidelity of the army, he stole secretly from the emperor, whilst he was sacrificing; and, assembling the soldiers, in a short speech urged the cruelties and avarice of Galba. Finding the invectives received with universal shouts of approbation, he entirely threw off the mask, and avowed his intentions of dethroning him. The soldiers, being ripe for sedition, immediately seconded his

views: wherefore, taking Otho on their shoulders, they declared him emperor; and, to strike the citizens with terror, carried him, with their swords drawn, into the camp.

Soon afterwards, finding Galba in some measure deserted by his adherents, the soldiers rushed in upon him; trampling under foot the crowd which then filled the forum. The emperor, seeing them approach, appeared to recollect all his former fortitude; and, bending his head forward, bid the assassins strike it off, if it were for the good of the people. This was quickly performed: and his head, being set upon the point of a lance, was presented to Otho, who ordered it to be contemptuously carried round the camp; his body remaining in the street, unburied, until interred by one of his slaves.

A. D. 69. Galba died in the seventy-third year of his age, after a short reign of seven months; illustrious by his virtues, and uncontaminated by the vices of those favourites who shared in his downfall.

Otho, who was now elected emperor, began his reign by a signal instance of clemency, in pardoning Marius Celsus, who had been highly favoured by Galba; and, not contented with barely forgiving, he advanced him to the highest honours; asserting, that "fidelity deserved every reward."

During these transactions, the legions in lower Germany, having been purchased by the profuse bounties and specious promises of Vitellius, their general, were at length induced to proclaim him emperor; and, regardless of the senate, they declared that they had an equal right with the cohorts of Rome, to appoint to that high station.

Otho departed from the city, in all haste, to give Vitellius battle. The army of the latter, which consisted of seventy-thousand men, was commanded by his generals, Valens and Cecinna; he himself remaining in Gaul, in order to bring up the rest of his forces. Both sides advanced to meet each other, with so much animosity and precipitation, that three considerable battles were fought in as many days: one, near Placentia; another, near Cremona; and a third, at a place called Castor: in all of which, Otho and the Romans had the advantage. But these successes were of short continuance. Valens and Cecinna, who had hitherto acted separately, having joined their forces, and recruited their armies with fresh supplies, resolved to come to a general engagement. In this, Otho's forces were totally overthrown, and he killed himself shortly afterwards; having reigned three months and five days.

A. D. 70. Vitellius was immediately declared emperor, by the senate, and received those marks of distinction which were now accustomed to follow the appointments of the strongest side.

On his arrival at Rome, he entered the city, not as a place which he came to govern with justice, but as a town which had become his own, by the laws of conquest.

He soon gave himself up to all kinds of luxury and profuseness: but gluttony was his favourite vice. His entertainments, though seldom at his own cost, were enormously expensive: he frequently invited himself to the tables of his subjects; breakfasting with one, dining with another, and supping with a third, all in the same day.

By the continuance of such vices, added to the most atrocious cruelties, he became not only a burthen to himself, but odious to all mankind. Having thus become insupportable to the inhabitants of Rome, the legions of the East, who had at first acquiesced in his dominion, began to revolt, and, shortly afterwards, unanimously determined to make Vespasian emperor.

During the preparations against him, Vitellius, though buried in luxury and sloth, resolved to make an effort to defend the empire; wherefore, his chief commanders, Valens and Cecinna, were ordered to make all possible preparations to resist the invaders. The first army that entered Italy with a hostile intention, was under the command of Antonius Primus, who was met by Cecinna near Cremona. A battle was expected; but, a negotiation taking place, Cecinna was prevailed on to change sides, and declare for Vespasian. His army, however, quickly repented of what they had done; and, imprisoning their general, attacked Antonius, though without a leader. The engagement continued during the whole night; and, in the morning, after a short repast, both armies encountered, a second time; when the soldiers of Antonius, saluting the rising sun, according to custom, the Vitellians, supposing that they had received new reinforcements, betook themselves to flight, after a loss of thirty-thousand men.

Vitellius, who was wallowing in all kinds of luxury and excess, now made offers to Vespasian, of resigning the empire, provided his life were spared, and a sufficient revenue allotted for his support. In order to enforce the terms of this request, he issued from his palace in deep mourning, with all his domestics weeping around him. He then went to offer the sword

of justice to Cecilius, the consul; which he refusing, the abject emperor prepared to lay down the ensigns of the empire, in the temple of Concord: but, being interrupted by some person, who cried out that he himself was Concord, he resolved, upon so weak an encouragement, still to maintain his power, and immediately prepared for his defence.

In this fluctuation of counsels, one Sabinus, who had advised Vitellius to resign, perceiving his desperate situation, resolved, by a bold step, to oblige Vespasian; and accordingly, seized upon the capitol. But he was premature in his attempt: the soldiers of Vitellius attacked him with great fury; and, prevailing by their numbers, soon laid that beautiful building in ashes. During this dreadful conflagration, Vitellius was feasting in the palace of Tiberius, and beholding, with great satisfaction, all the horrors of the assault. Sabinus was taken prisoner, and, shortly afterwards, executed, by the emperor's command. Young Domitian, his nephew, who was afterwards emperor, escaped by flight, in the habit of a priest; and all the rest, who survived the fire, were put to the sword.

But Antonius, Vespasian's commander, having arrived before the walls of the city, the forces of Vitellius resolved upon defending it to the utmost extremity. It was attacked on three sides with the greatest fury; whilst the army within, sallying upon the besiegers, defended it with equal obstinacy. The battle lasted a whole day; until, at last, the besieged were driven into the city, and a dreadful slaughter made of them in all the streets, which they in vain attempted to defend.

The wretched emperor was soon found concealed in an obscure corner; from which he was taken, by a party of the conquering soldiers. Still, however, willing to add a few hours more to his miserable existence, he begged to be kept in prison till the arrival of Vespasian at Rome; pretending that he had secrets of importance to discover. But his entreaties were in vain: the soldiers, binding his hands behind him, and throwing a halter round his neck, led him along, half naked, into the public forum; upbraiding him, as they proceeded, with all those bitter reproaches, which their malice could suggest, or his own cruelty had deserved. At length, having reached the place of punishment, they killed him, with many blows; and then, dragging the dead body through the streets, by a hook, they threw it, with all possible ignominy, into the Tyber.

A. D. 70. Vespasian, (properly Vespasianus,) was now declared emperor, by the unanimous consent both of the senate and the army, and dignified with all those titles

which now followed, rather the power, than the merit, of those who were appointed to govern.

Having continued some months at Alexandria, in Egypt, he set out for Rome; giving his son Titus the command of the army that was to lay siege to Jerusalem. He was met, many miles from Rome, by all the senate, and nearly half the inhabitants; who gave the sincerest testimonies of their joy, in having an emperor of so great and experienced virtues. Nor did he, in the least, disappoint their expectations: being equally assiduous in rewarding merit and pardoning his adversaries; in reforming the manners of the citizens, and setting them the best example in his own.

In the mean time, Titus carried on the war against the Jews, with vigour. This obstinate and infatuated people had long determined to resist the Roman power; vainly hoping to find protection from Heaven, which their impieties had offended. Their own historian, represents them as arrived at the highest pitch of iniquity. Nor was it sufficient that heaven and earth seemed combined against them: they had the most bitter dissensions amongst themselves, and were split into two parties which robbed and destroyed each other with impunity; still pillaging, and, at the same time, boasting their zeal for the religion of their ancestors.

At the head of one of those parties, was an incendiary, named John. This fanatic affected sovereign power, and distressed the whole city of Jerusalem, and all the towns around, by tumult and pillage. In a short time, a new faction arose, headed by one Simon; who, gathering multitudes of robbers and murderers, that had fled to the mountains, attacked many cities and towns, and reduced all Idumea under his authority. Jerusalem, at length, became the theatre in which these two demagogues began to exercise their mutual animosity. John had possession of the temple, and Simon was admitted into the city: both equally enraged against each other; while slaughter and devastation followed their pretensions. Thus, did a city, formerly celebrated for unity and peace, become the seat of tumult and confusion.

It was in this miserable situation, when Titus began his operations, within about six furlongs of Jerusalem, during the feast of the Passover; the place being filled with an infinite multitude of people, who had come to celebrate that great solemnity. The approach of the Romans produced a temporary reconciliation between the contending factions within the city; so that they unanimously determined to oppose the common enemy

first, and decide their domestic quarrels at a more convenient season.

Their first sally, which was made with much fury and resolution, threw the besiegers into great disorder, and obliged them to abandon their camp, and fly to the mountains. However, rallying immediately afterwards, the Jews were forced back into the city, while Titus, in person, showed surprising instances of valour and ability.

These advantages over the Romans, only renewed in the besieged the desire of private revenge. A tumult ensued in the temple, in which several of both parties were slain; and in this manner, upon every remission on the part of those without, the factions of John and Simon violently raged against each other within; agreeing only in their resolution to defend the city against the Romans.

Jerusalem was strongly fortified, by three walls, on every side; except where it was protected by deep valleys. Titus began by battering down the outward wall; the destruction of which, after much fatigue and danger, he effected; all the time displaying great clemency to the Jews, and offering them repeated assurances of pardon. Five days after the commencement of the siege, he broke through the second wall; and, though driven back by the defendants, he recovered his ground, and made preparations for battering the third wall, which was their last defence. But first he sent Josephus, their country man, into the city, to exhort them to yield; who, using all his eloquence to persuade them, was only reviled with scoffs and reproaches. The siege was consequently continued with greater vigour than before: several batteries for engines were raised, which were no sooner erected, than destroyed by the enemy. At length, it was resolved, in council, to surround the whole city with a trench; and thus prevent all succour from abroad. This, which was quickly executed, seemed no way to intimidate the Jews. Though famine, and pestilence, its usual attendant, began to make the most horrid ravages amongst them, yet this desperate people still determined to hold out. Titus now cut down all the woods to a considerable distance from the city, and causing more batteries to be raised, he at length made an effectual breach; and in five days entered the citadel by force. The Jews, however, continued to deceive themselves with absurd and erroneous expectations, whilst many false prophets deluded the multitude; declaring they should soon have assistance from God. The heat of the battle now raged around the inner wall of the temple, while the defend-

ants desperately combated from the top. Titus was anxious to save this beautiful structure; but a soldier casting a brand into some adjacent buildings, the fire communicated to the temple; and, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours on both sides, the edifice was quickly consumed. The sight of their temple in ruins, effectually served to damp the ardour of the Jews. They now began to perceive that heaven had forsaken them, while their cries and lamentations echoed from the neighbouring mountains. Even those who were expiring, lifted up their dying eyes to bewail the loss of that temple, which they valued more than life itself. The most resolute, however, still endeavoured to defend the upper and stronger part of the city, named Sion; but Titus, with his battering engines, soon made himself master of the place. John and Simon were taken from the vaults, where they had concealed themselves: the former was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the latter reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph. The greater part of the populace were put to the sword, and the city, after a six month's siege, was entirely razed, by the plough; so that, according to our Saviour's prophecy, not one stone remained upon another. The number of those who perished in this siege, according to Josephus, amounted to above a million, and the captives to almost one-hundred-thousand.

Upon the taking of Jerusalem, the soldiers would have crowned Titus as a conqueror, but he modestly refused the honour; alleging that he was only an instrument in the hand of Heaven, which manifestly declared its wrath against the Jews. At Romé, however, every voice proclaimed the victor's praise; who had not only showed himself an excellent general, but a courageous combatant: when returning therefore in triumph, accompanied by his father, his entry was marked by all the magnificence and joy in the power of men to express. All things that were esteemed valuable or beautiful amongst men, were brought to adorn this great occasion. Amongst the rich spoils, were exposed vast quantities of gold, taken out of the temple; but the Book of the Holy Law was not the least remarkable of the magnificent profusion. This was the first time that Rome had seen the father and the son triumph together. A triumphal arch was erected on this occasion, on which were described all the victories of Titus over the Jews; which remains almost entire to this day. Vespasian likewise built a temple to Peace, wherein were deposited most of the Jewish spoils; and having now calmed all commotions in every part of the empire, he shut up the temple of Janus, which had

been open about five or six years. Vespasian, having reigned ten years, beloved by his subjects, and deserving their affection, was surprised by an indisposition at Campania, which, from the beginning, he declared would be fatal; and, perceiving his end approaching, as he was just going to breathe his last, he cried out, that an emperor ought to die standing: wherefore, raising himself upon his feet, he died in the hands of those that sustained him.

Few emperors have received a better character from historians; yet all his numerous acts of generosity and magnificence could not protect him from the imputation of rapacity and avarice; as he descended to the laying of imposts, which, in some instances, were not only unusual but dishonourable.

A. D. 79. Titus, being joyfully received as emperor, began to reign with the practice of every virtue that became a sovereign and a man. During the life of his father, there were many charges against him, of cruelty, lust, and prodigality; but, upon his exaltation to the throne, he seemed entirely to abandon his former vices, and became an example of the greatest moderation and humanity. His first step towards gaining the affection of his subjects, was, his moderating his passions, and bridling his inclinations. He had long loved Berenice, the sister of Agrippa, king of Judea; a woman of the greatest beauty, and the most refined allurements. But, knowing that the connexion with her was entirely disagreeable to the people of Rome, he gained a victory over his affections, and sent her away, notwithstanding their mutual attachment, and the many arts she used to induce him to change his resolution. He next discarded all those who had been the usual ministers of his pleasures, and forbore to countenance the companions of his looser recreations, though he had formerly taken great pains in the selection.

This moderation, added to his justice and generosity, procured him the esteem of all good men, and the appellation of "The delight of mankind," which all his actions seemed calculated to ensure.

Titus took particular care to punish all informers, false witnesses, and promoters of dissension. Those wretches, who had their rise in the licentiousness and impurity of former reigns, had become so numerous, that their crimes called loudly for punishment. Of these, therefore, he daily made public examples: condemning them to be scourged in the public streets; next, to be dragged through the theatre, and then to be banished into the uninhabited parts of the empire, or sold as slaves

His courtesy, and readiness to do good, have been celebrated even by Christian writers; his principal rule being, never to send away any petitioner dissatisfied. One night, recollecting that he had done nothing beneficial to mankind, the day preceding, he cried out, amongst his friends: "I have lost a day!"—a sentence, too remarkable, not to be universally known.

Hearing that two noblemen had conspired against him, he readily forgave them; and, the following day, placing them next himself in the theatre, he put into their hands the swords with which the gladiators fought; demanding their judgment and approbation, whether they were of sufficient length.

In this reign, an eruption of Mount Vesuvius caused considerable damage; overwhelming many towns, and throwing the ashes into countries more than a hundred miles distant. Upon this memorable occasion, Pliny, the naturalist, lost his life. Impelled by too eager a curiosity to observe the eruption, he was suffocated in the flames. There happened, also, about this time, a fire at Rome, which continued three days and nights; to which, succeeded a plague, that caused the burial of ten thousand men in a day. The emperor, however, did all that lay in his power to repair the damages sustained by the public; and, with respect to the city, declared that he would take the whole loss upon himself.

These disasters were, in some measure, counterbalanced by the successes gained by Agricola, in Britain. That excellent general, having been sent into this country towards the latter end of Vespasian's reign, showed himself equally expert in quelling the refractory, and civilizing those who had formerly submitted to the Roman power. The Ordovices, inhabitants of North Wales, were the first that were subdued. He then made a descent upon Mona, (the island of Anglesea,) which surrendered at discretion. Having thus made himself master of the whole country, he used every method to restore discipline to his own army, and introduce some degree of politeness amongst the conquered. He exhorted them, both by advice and example, to build temples, theatres, and stately houses. He caused the sons of their nobility to be instructed in the liberal arts: he had them taught the Latin language; and induced them to imitate the Roman mode of dress and living. Thus, by degrees, this barbarous people began to assume the luxurious manners of their conquerors, and, in some measure, to outdo them in all the refinements of sensual pleasures. On account of these successes in Britain, Titus was saluted *Imperator*, the fifteenth time: but he did not long survive this

honour; being surprised, at a little distance from Rome, by a fever. He expired shortly afterwards; but his brother Domitian, who had long wished to govern, was not entirely free from the imputation of treachery, on this occasion. His death was in the forty-first year of his age; having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days.

A. D. 81. Domitian, (properly called Domitianus,) commenced his reign with the universal satisfaction of the people; as he appeared equally remarkable for his clemency, liberality, and justice.

But he soon began to show the natural deformity of his mind. Instead of cultivating literature, as his father and his brother had done, he neglected all kinds of study; addicting himself wholly to other pursuits, particularly archery, and the mean practice of gaming. He was so very expert in archery, that he would frequently cause one of his slaves to stand at a considerable distance, with his hands spread, as a mark, and would shoot his arrows with so great exactness, as to stick them all between his fingers. He instituted three sorts of contests, to be observed every five years; in music, horsemanship, and wrestling; but, at the same time, he banished all philosophers and mathematicians from Rome. No emperor, before him, entertained the people with so great a variety of expensive exhibitions. During these diversions, he distributed large rewards; sitting as president himself, adorned with a purple robe and crown, with the priests of Jupiter, and the college of Flavian priests about him. The meanness of his occupations, in solitude, was a strong contrast to his exhibitions of public ostentation. He usually spent his hours of retirement in catching flies, and sticking them through with a bodkin; so that one of his servants being asked if the emperor was alone, answered—that he had not so much as a fly to bear him company.

His vices seemed every day to increase with the duration of his reign. His ungrateful treatment of Agricola discovered the first symptom of his natural malevolence. Domitian was always particularly fond of obtaining a military reputation; and therefore jealous of it in others. He had marched, some time before, into Gaul, upon a pretended expedition against the Catti, a people of Germany; and, without ever seeing the enemy, he resolved to have the honour of a triumph, upon his return to Rome. For that purpose, he purchased a number of slaves, whom he dressed in German habits, and, at the head of this miserable procession, entered the city, amidst the ap

parent applause, but concealed contempt, of all his subjects. The successes, therefore, of Agricola, in Britain, affected him with an extreme degree of envy. This admirable general pursued the advantages which he had already obtained. He conquered the Caledonians, and overcame Galgacus, the British chief, at the head of thirty thousand men; and afterwards, sending out a fleet to scour the coast, he first ascertained that Britain was an island. He likewise discovered and subdued the Orkneys, and thus reduced the whole into a civilized province of the Roman empire. When the account of these successes was brought to Domitian, he received it with seeming pleasure, but real uneasiness. He thought Agricola's rising reputation a tacit reproach upon his own inactivity; and, instead of attempting to emulate, he resolved to suppress, the merit of his services. He ordered him, therefore, external marks of approbation, and took care that triumphal ornaments, statues, and other honours, should be decreed him; but, at the same time, he removed him from his command, under pretence of appointing him to the government of Syria.

By these means, Agricola surrendered up his province to Salustius Lucullus; but he soon found that Syria was otherwise disposed of. Upon his return to Rome, which was privately and by night, he was coolly received by the emperor; and dying afterwards in retirement, it was supposed by some that his end was hastened by Domitian's direction. The emperor, soon after, became sensible of the loss he had sustained, in being deprived of the services of so experienced a commander. The barbarous nations that surrounded the empire made frequent irruptions. The Sarmatians in Europe, joined with those of Asia, made a formidable invasion; at once destroying a whole legion and a general of the Romans. The Dacians, also, under the conduct of Decebalus, their king, made an inroad, and overthrew them in several engagements. At last, however, the barbarians were driven back, partly by force, and partly by the assistance of money; which only served as a means of making future invasions with greater advantage. But, in whatever manner the enemy had been repelled, Domitian was determined not to lose the honour of a triumph. He returned, in great ostentation, to Rome; and, not content with thus triumphing twice, without a victory, he resolved to take the surname of Germanicus, for his conquest over a people with whom he had never contended.

In proportion as the ridicule increased against him, his pride seemed every day to demand greater homage. He would

permit his statues to be made only of gold and silver; he assumed divine honours, and ordered that all men should treat him with the same appellations which they gave to the divinity. His cruelty was equal to his arrogance: he caused numbers of the most illustrious senators and others to be put to death, upon the most trifling pretences. One Ælius Lamia was condemned and executed, merely for jesting, though there was neither novelty nor poignancy in his humour. Cocceanus was murdered, only for celebrating the birth day of Otho. Pomposianus shared the same fate, because it was foretold by an astrologer that he should be emperor. Salustius Lucullus, his lieutenant in Britain, was destroyed, only for having given his name to a new sort of lances of his own invention; and Junius Rusticus, for publishing a book, in which he commended Thracea and Priscus, two philosophers who opposed Vespasian's elevation to the throne.

Lucius Antonius, governor of upper Germany, knowing how much the emperor was detested at home, resolved upon striking for the throne, and accordingly assumed the ensigns of imperial dignity. As he was at the head of a formidable army, he, for a long time, kept the field, with doubtful success; but a sudden overflowing of the Rhine dividing his forces, he was attacked at that juncture by Normandus, the emperor's general, and totally routed.

Domitian's severity was greatly increased by this short-lived success. In order to discover those who were accomplices with the adverse party, he invented new tortures; sometimes cutting off the hands—at other times thrusting fire into the most delicate parts of those whom he suspected of being his enemies. During these severities, he aggravated his guilt by hypocrisy; never pronouncing sentence without a preamble full of gentleness and mercy. The night before he crucified the comptroller of his household, he seemed to treat him with the most cordial friendship, and ordered him a dish of meat from his own table. He carried Aretinus Clemens with him in his own litter, the day he had concluded upon his death. He was particularly terrible to the senate and nobility; the whole body of whom he frequently threatened entirely to extirpate. At one time, he surrounded the senate-house with his troops, to the great consternation of the senators. At another, he determined to amuse himself with their terrors, in a different manner. Having invited them to a public entertainment, he received them all very formally, at the entrance of his palace, and conducted them into a spacious hall, hung round with

black, and partially lighted by a few melancholy lamps, which served only to show the gloomy horrors of the place. All around were to be seen nothing but coffins, each with a senator's name written on it, together with other objects of terror, and instruments of execution. While the company beheld all these preparations with silent agony, several men, having their bodies blackened, each with a sword in one hand, and a flaming torch in the other, entered the hall, and danced around them. After some time, when the guests, well knowing Domitian's wanton cruelty, expected nothing less than instant death, the doors were thrown open, and a servant came to inform them, that the emperor gave all the company leave to withdraw. These cruelties were rendered still more odious by his lust and avarice. Frequently, after presiding at an execution, he would retire with the most abandoned women, and use the same baths which they did. The last part of the tyrant's reign was more insupportable than any of the preceding. Nero had exercised his cruelties without being a spectator; but a principal part of the Roman miseries, during this reign, was to behold the tyrant, with a stern air, and fiery visage, which he had rendered incapable of blushing, by continued intemperance, directing the tortures, and maliciously pleased with adding irritation to every agony.

But a period was soon to be put to this monster's cruelties. Amongst the number of those that he at once caressed and suspected, was his wife Domitia, whom he had taken from Ælius Lamia, her former husband. It was the tyrant's method to put down the names of all those he intended to destroy, in his tablets, which he kept about him with great circumspection. Domitia, fortunately happening to see them, was astonished at finding her own name in the catalogue of those doomed to destruction. She showed the fatal list to Norbanus and Petronius, præfects of the prætorian bands, who found themselves also set down; and to Stephanus, the comptroller of the household, who came into the conspiracy with alacrity. They fixed upon the eighteenth day of September, for the completion of their great attempt. When preparing to go to the bath, on the morning of that day, Petronius, his chamberlain, came to inform him, that Stephanus desired to speak to him, upon an affair of the utmost importance. The emperor having given orders that his attendants should retire, Stephanus entered with his hand in a scarf, which he had worn thus for some days, the better to conceal a dagger; as no one was permitted to approach the emperor with arms. He began, by giving informa-

tion of a pretended conspiracy, and exhibited a paper in which the particulars were specified. Whilst Domitian was reading the contents with an eager curiosity, Stephanus drew the dagger, and struck him in the body. The wound not being mortal, Domitian caught hold of the assassin, and threw him on the ground; calling out for assistance. But Parthenius, with his freedman, a gladiator, and two subaltern officers, coming in, they all ran furiously upon the emperor, and despatched him with seven wounds.

It is incredible, what some writers relate, concerning Appolonius Tyaneus, who was then at Ephesus. This person, whom some call a magician, and some a philosopher, but who, more probably, was nothing more than an impostor, was, as they say, just at the minute in which Domitian was slain, lecturing in one of the public gardens of that city. But, suddenly stopping short, he cried out, "Courage, Stephanus—strike the tyrant." And then, after a pause: "Rejoice, my friends, the tyrant dies this day;—this day, do I say!—the very moment in which I kept silence, he suffers for his crimes; he dies!"

Many more prodigies are said to have portended his death; but the fate of such a monster seemed to produce more preternatural disturbances, and more predictions, than it deserved. The truth is, that a belief of omens and prodigies had again become prevalent; and the people were relapsing into pristine barbarity. A country of ignorance is always the proper soil for a harvest of imposture.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The five good Emperors of Rome; Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius.

A. D. 96. WHEN it was publicly known that Domitian was slain, the senate began to blacken his memory with every reproach. It was ordered that his statues should be taken down, and a decree was made, that all his inscriptions should be erased, his name struck out of the registers of fame, and his funeral omitted. The people, who now took little part in the affairs of government, looked on his death with indifference; the soldiers alone, whom he had loaded with favours, and enriched by largesses, sincerely regretted their benefactor.

The senate, therefore, resolved to provide a successor, be-

fore the army could have an opportunity of taking the appointment upon themselves; and Cocceius Nerva was chosen to the empire, the very day on which the tyrant was slain. He was of an illustrious family, as most say, by birth a Spaniard, and above sixty-five years old when he was called to the throne. He was at that time the most remarkable man in Rome, for his virtues, moderation, and respect to the laws; and he owed his exaltation to the blameless conduct of his former life.

The people, being long accustomed to tyranny, regarded Nerva's gentle reign with rapture; and even gave his imbecility (for his humanity was carried too far for justice) the name of benevolence. Upon ascending the throne, he solemnly swore that no senator of Rome should be put to death, by his command, during his reign, though he gave ever so just a cause. This oath he so religiously observed, that when two senators had conspired his death, he used no kind of severity against them; but, sending for them, to show that he was not ignorant of their designs, he carried them with him to the public theatre; and, presenting to each a dagger, he desired them to strike, as he was determined not to ward off the blow. During his short reign, he made several good laws. He put all those slaves to death, who had, during the last reign, informed against their masters. He permitted no statues to be erected to his honour, and converted into money, those of Domitian, which had been spared by the senate. He sold many rich robes, and much of the splendid furniture of the palace, and retracted several unreasonable expenses at court. At the same time, he had so little regard for money, that when one of his subjects found a large treasure, and wrote to the emperor for directions how to dispose of it, he received for answer that he might use it; but the finder informing him that it was a fortune too large for a private person, Nerva, admiring his honesty, wrote him word, that then he might abuse it.

A life of such generosity and mildness, was not, however, without enemies. Vigilius Rufus, who had opposed him, was not only pardoned, but made his colleague in the consulship. Calpurnius Crassus, also, with some others, formed a conspiracy to destroy him; but he rested satisfied with banishing those, who were culpable, though the senate were for inflicting more rigorous punishments. But the most dangerous insurrection against his interests, was from the prætorian bands; who, headed by Casparius Orianus, insisted upon revenging the late emperor's death, whose memory was still dear to them, from his frequent liberalities. Nerva, whose kindness to good

men rendered him more obnoxious to the vicious, did all in his power to stop the progress of this insurrection: he presented himself to the mutinous soldiers, and, opening his bosom, desired them to strike there, rather than be guilty of so much injustice. The soldiers, however, paid no regard to his remonstrances, but, seizing upon Petronius and Parthenius, killed them, in the most ignominious manner. Not content with this, they even compelled the emperor to approve of their sedition, and to make a speech to the people, in which he thanked the cohorts for their fidelity.

So disagreeable a restraint upon the emperor's inclinations, was, in the end, attended with the most happy effects; as it caused the adoption of Trajan, to succeed him. Perceiving, that, in the present turbulent disposition of the times, he stood in need of an assistant in the empire, setting aside all his own relations, he fixed upon Ulpius Trajanus, (familiarily Trajan,) an utter stranger to his family, who was then governor in upper Germany, as his successor. In about three months afterwards, having put himself into a violent passion with one Regulus, a senator, he was seized with a fever, of which he died, after a short reign of one year, four months, and nine days.

He was the first foreign emperor that reigned in Rome; and justly reputed a prince of great generosity and moderation. He is also celebrated for his wisdom, though with less reason; the greatest instance he gave of it during his reign, having been in the choice of his successor.

U. C. Trajan's family was originally of Italy; but he
851. himself was born at Seville, in Spain. On being
A. D. 98. informed of the death of Nerva, he prepared to return to Rome, from Germany, where he was governor; and one of the first lectures he received, upon his arrival, was from Plutarch, the philosopher; who had the honour of being his master, and is said to have written him a letter to the following purpose: "Since your merits, and not your importunities, have advanced you to the empire, permit me to congratulate your virtues, and my own good fortune. If your future government prove answerable to your former worth, I shall be happy; but, if you become worse for power, yours will be the danger, and mine the ignominy of your conduct. The errors of the pupil will be charged upon the instructor. Seneca is reproached for the enormities of Nero; and Socrates and Quintilian have not escaped censure, for the misconduct of their respective scholars; but you have it in your power to make me

the most honoured of men, by continuing what you are. Preserve the command of your passions, and make virtue the scope of all your actions. If you follow these instructions, then will I glory in my having presumed to give them; if you neglect what I offer, then will this letter be my testimony that you have not erred through the counsel and authority of Plutarch." I have inserted this letter, whether genuine or not, because it seems to me well written, and a striking picture of that great philosopher's manner of addressing that best of princes.

This good monarch's application to business, his moderation to his enemies, his modesty in exaltation, his liberality to the deserving, and his economy in his own expenses, have all been the subjects of panegyric, amongst his cotemporaries; and they continue to be the admiration of posterity.

Upon giving the præfect of the prætorian bands the sword, according to custom, he made use of this remarkable expression: "Take this sword, and use it: if I have merit, for me; if otherwise, against me." After which, he added, that he who gave laws, was the first who was bound to observe them.

The first war he was engaged in, after his coming to the throne, was with the Dacians; who, during the reign of Domitian, had committed innumerable ravages upon the provinces of the empire. He therefore raised a powerful army, and with great expedition marched into their barbarous countries; where he was vigorously opposed by Decebalus, the Dacian king, who, for a long time, withstood his boldest efforts. At length, however, this monarch, being constrained to come to a general battle, and no longer able to protract the war, was routed, with great slaughter; though not without a severe loss to the conquerors. The Roman soldiers, upon this occasion, wanting linen to bind up their wounds, the emperor tore his own robes, to supply them. This victory compelled the enemy to sue for peace, which they obtained upon very disadvantageous terms; their king coming into the Roman camp, and acknowledging himself a vassal of the Roman empire.

Upon Trajan's return, after the usual triumphs and rejoicings upon such an occasion, were over, he was surprised with an account that the Dacians had renewed hostilities. Decebalus their king, was now, therefore, a second time adjudged an enemy to the Roman state, and Trajan invaded his dominions with an army equal to that with which he had before subdued him. But Decebalus, now grown more cautious by his former defeat, used every art to avoid coming to an engagement. He

also put various stratagems in practice, to distress his enemy; and, at one time, Trajan himself was in danger of being killed or taken. He also took Longinus, one of the Roman generals, prisoner; and threatened to kill him, in case Trajan refused to grant terms of peace. But the emperor replied, that peace and war had not their dependence upon the safety of one subject only; wherefore, Longinus, sometime afterwards, destroyed himself, by a voluntary death. The fate of this general seemed to give new vigour to Trajan's operations. In order that he might more easily invade the enemy's territories, at pleasure, he undertook a most stupendous work, which was no less than building a bridge across the Danube. This amazing structure, which was built over a deep, broad, and rapid river, consisted of more than twenty arches, each one-hundred-and-fifty feet high, and a hundred-and-seventy broad. The ruins of this structure, which remain to this day, show modern architects how far they were surpassed by the ancients, both in the greatness and boldness of their designs. Upon finishing this work, Trajan continued the war with great vigour, sharing with the meanest of his soldiers the fatigues of the campaign, and continually encouraging them to their duty, by his own example. By these means, notwithstanding the country was spacious and uncultivated, and the inhabitants brave and hardy, he subdued the whole, and added the kingdom of Dacia, as a province, to the Roman empire. Decebalus made some attempts to escape; but, being surrounded on every side, he at last slew himself, and his head was sent immediately to Rome, as an evidence of his misfortune. These successes seemed to advance the empire to a greater degree of splendour than it had hitherto acquired. Ambassadors came from the interior parts of India, to congratulate Trajan on his success, and bespeak his friendship. Upon his return to Rome, he entered the city in triumph; and the rejoicings for his victories lasted one-hundred-and-twenty days.

Having given peace and prosperity to the empire, he continued his reign, loved, honoured, and almost adored, by his subjects. He adorned the city with public buildings; he freed it from such men as lived by their vices; he entertained persons of merit with the utmost familiarity, and so little feared his enemies, that he could scarcely be induced to suppose he had any. It would have been happy for this great prince's memory, if he had shown equal clemency to all his subjects; but, about the ninth year of his reign, he was persuaded to look upon the

U. C. 860. put to death, as well by popular tumults, as by edicts and judicial proceedings. However, the emperor, having advice from Pliny, the proconsul in Bithynia, of the innocence and simplicity of the Christians, and of their inoffensive and moral way of living, suspended their punishments.

In this emperor's reign, there was a dreadful insurrection of the Jews, in all parts of the empire. This wretched people, still infatuated, and always expecting some signal deliverance, took the advantage of Trajan's absence in the East, in an expedition he had undertaken against the Armenians and Parthians, to massacre all the Greeks and Romans whom they got into their power, without reluctance or mercy. This rebellion first began in Cyrene, a Roman province in Africa; thence, the flames extended to Egypt; and next, to the island of Cyprus. These places, they in a manner depopulated, with ungovernable fury. Their barbarities were so enormous, that they eat the flesh of their enemies, wore their skins, sawed them asunder, cast them to wild beasts, made them kill each other, and studied new torments by which to destroy them. However, these cruelties were not of long duration; the governors of the respective provinces, making head against their tumultuous fury, soon treated them with a retaliation of severity, and put them to death, not as human beings, but as outrageous pests to society. As the Jews had practised these cruelties in Cyprus particularly, a law was publicly enacted, by which it was made capital for any Jew to set foot on the island.

During these bloody transactions, Trajan was prosecuting his successes in the East, where he carried the Roman arms farther than they had ever been before; but, resolving to return once more to Rome, he found himself too weak to proceed in his usual manner. He therefore ordered that he should be carried on shipboard, to the city of Seleucia, where he died

A. D. 117. of the apoplexy, by which he had been attacked once before, in the sixty-third year of his age, after a reign of nineteen years, six months and fifteen days.

Adrian, (properly Adrianus,) who was nephew to Trajan, was adopted to succeed in the empire, and elected by all orders of the state, though absent from Rome; being then at Antioch, as general of the forces in the East.

Upon his election, he began to pursue a course quite opposite to that of his predecessor; taking every method of declining war, and promoting the arts of peace. He was quite satisfied

with preserving the ancient limits of the empire, and seemed no way ambitious of extensive conquests.

Adrian was one of the most remarkable of the Roman emperors, for the variety of his endowments. He was highly skilful in all the accomplishments, both of body and mind: he composed with great beauty, both in prose and verse; he pleaded at the bar, and was one of the best orators of his time. Nor were his moral virtues inferior to his accomplishments. His moderation and clemency appeared by pardoning the injuries which he had received when he was yet only a private man. One day, meeting a person who had formerly been his most inveterate enemy, "My good friend," cried he, "you have escaped, for I am made emperor." He was affable to his friends, and gentle to those of inferior stations: he relieved their wants, and visited them in sickness; it being his constant maxim, that he was an emperor, not elected for his own good, but for the benefit of mankind.

These were his virtues, which were contrasted by a strange mixture of vices; or, to say the truth, he wanted strength of mind, to preserve his general rectitude of character without deviation.

He was scarcely settled on the throne, when several of the northern barbarians, the Alani, the Sarmatians, and the Dacians, began to make incursions into the empire. These hardy nations, who now found the way to conquer, by issuing from their forests, and then retiring on the approach of a superior force, began to be truly formidable to Rome. Adrian proposed to contract the limits of the empire, by giving up some of the most remote and least defensible provinces; but in this he was over-ruled by his friends, who erroneously imagined, that an extensive frontier would intimidate an invading enemy. But though he complied with their remonstrances, he broke down the bridge over the Danube, which his predecessor had built; sensible that the same passage which was open to him, was equally convenient to the incursions of his barbarous neighbours.

Having remained a short time at Rome, to see that all things were regulated and established for the safety of the public, he prepared to visit and take a view of his whole empire. It was one of his maxims, that an emperor ought to imitate the sun, which diffuses warmth and vigour over all parts of the earth. He therefore took with him a splendid court, and a considerable force, and entered the province of Gaul; where he numbered all the inhabitants. From Gaul, he went to Germany, thence

to Holland, and then passed over to Britain; where he reformed many abuses, and reconciled the natives to the Romans. For the better security of the southern parts of the kingdom, he built a wall, of wood and earth, extending from the river Eden, in Cumberland, to the Tyne, in Northumberland, to prevent the incursions of the Picts and other barbarous nations of the north. From Britain, returning through Gaul, he directed his journey to Spain, where he was received with great joy; being a native of that country. Residing in the city of Tarragona, during the winter, he called a meeting of the deputies from all the provinces, and ordained many things for the benefit of the nation. From Spain, having returned to Rome, he continued there for some time, in order to prepare for his journey into the East; which was hastened by a new invasion of the Parthians. His approach compelling the enemy to peace, he pursued his travels, without molestation. Having arrived in Asia Minor, he turned out of his way, to visit the famous city of Athens. There, making a considerable stay, he was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, which were accounted the most sacred in the Pagan mythology; and took upon him the office of archon, or chief magistrate of the place. In this city, also, he remitted the severity of the Christian persecution, at the request of Gratianus, the proconsul of Asia, who represented the people of that persuasion as no way culpable. He was even so far reconciled to them, as to think of receiving Christ amongst the number of the gods. After a winter's continuance in Athens, he went over into Sicily, and visited Ætna and the other curiosities of the country. Then, returning to Rome, after a short stay, he prepared ships, and crossed over into Africa. Here, he spent much time, in regulating abuses, and reforming the government; in deciding controversies, and erecting magnificent buildings. Amongst the rest, he ordered Carthage to be rebuilt; calling it after his own name, Adrianopolis. Again, having returned to Rome, where he made very little delay, he travelled a second time into Greece, passed over into Asia Minor, thence went into Syria, and gave laws and instructions to all the neighbouring kings; whom he invited to come and consult with him: he then entered Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt, where he caused Pompey's tomb, which had been long neglected, and almost covered with sand, to be renewed and beautified. He also gave orders for the rebuilding of Jerusalem; which was performed with great expedition, by the assistance of the Jews, who now began to conceive hopes of being restored to their long lost kingdom. But these

expectations served only to aggravate their calamities. Being incensed at the privileges granted the Pagan worshipers in their new city, they fell upon the Romans and Christians dispersed throughout Judea, and unmercifully put them all to the sword. Adrian was at Athens, when this dangerous insurrection began; wherefore, sending against them a powerful body of men, under the command of Julius Severus, this general obtained many signal victories over the insurgents. This war was concluded in two years, by the demolition of above a thousand of their best towns, and the destruction of nearly six-hundred-thousand men in battle.

He then banished from Judea all those who remained; and, by a public decree, forbade any to come within view of their native soil. This insurrection was soon afterwards followed by a dangerous irruption of the barbarous nations to the northward of the empire; who, entering Media with great fury, and passing through Armenia, carried their devastations as far as Cappadocia. Adrian, preferring peace, upon any terms, to an unprofitable war, bought them off by large sums of money; so that they returned peaceably into their native wilds, to enjoy their plunder, and meditate fresh invasions.

Having spent thirteen years, in travelling through his dominions, and reforming the abuses of the empire, he at last resolved to return, and end all his fatigues at Rome. Nothing could be more grateful to the people, than his resolution of coming to reside during the rest of his days, amongst them: they received him with the loudest demonstrations of joy; and, though he now began to grow old and unwieldy, he remitted not the least of his former assiduity and application to the public welfare. His chief amusement was in conversing with the most celebrated men in every art and science: he frequently boasted, that he thought no kind of knowledge inconsiderable, or to be neglected, either in his private or public capacity. Adrian was so fond of literary fame, that we are told, he wrote his own life, and afterwards gave it to his servants to publish. But, whatever might have been his weakness, in aiming at universal reputation, he was in no part of his reign remiss in attending to the duties of his exalted station. He ordered the knights and senators never to appear in public, unless in the proper habits of their respective orders. He forbade masters to kill their slaves, as had been before allowed; but ordained that they should be tried by laws enacted against capital offences. A law, so just, had he done nothing more, deserved

to ensure his reputation with posterity, and to have made him dear to mankind.

He still further extended the lenity of the laws to those unhappy men, who had been long thought too mean for justice: if a master was found killed in his house, he would not allow all his slaves to be put to the torture, as formerly, but only those who might have perceived or prevented the murder.

In such employments, he consumed the greater part of his time; but at last, finding the duties of his station daily increasing, and his own strength proportionally on the decline, he resolved upon adopting a successor. Antoninus, afterwards surnamed the Pious, was the person he considered the most worthy; but he previously obliged him to adopt two others; namely, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus; all of whom afterwards succeeded to the empire.

Whilst he was thus careful in appointing a successor, his bodily infirmities became so insupportable, that he vehemently desired some of his attendants would despatch him. Antoninus, however, would by no means permit any of his domestics to be guilty of so great impiety; but used all the arts in his power to reconcile the emperor to sustain life. His pains increasing every day, he was frequently heard to cry out: "How miserable a thing it is, to seek death, and not to find it!" In this deplorable exigence, he resolved on going to Baiæ, where the tortures of his disease increasing, they affected his understanding. Continuing for some time in these excruciating circumstances, he was at last determined not to observe any regimen; often saying, that kings died merely by the number of their physicians. This conduct served to hasten that death which he seemed so ardently to desire; and it was probably joy upon its approach, which dictated the celebrated stanzas that are so well known, and in repeating which he expired, in the sixty-second year of his age, after a prosperous reign of twenty-one years and eleven months.

U. C. Antoninus, his successor, was born in the city
891. of Nismes, in Gaul. His father was a nobleman
A. D. 138. of an ancient family, which had enjoyed the highest honours of the state.

At the time of his succeeding to the throne, he was about fifty years old; and had passed through many of the most important offices of the state, with great integrity and application. His virtues in private life were no way impaired by exaltation; as he showed himself one of the most excellent princes, for justice, clemency,

and moderation. He morals were so pure, that he was usually compared to Numa; and was surnamed the Pious, both for his tenderness to his predecessor Adrian, when dying, and his particular attachment to the religion of his country.

He was an eminent rewarder of learned men, to whom he gave large pensions and great honours; drawing them from all parts of the world. Amongst the rest, he sent for Apollonius, the famous stoic philosopher, to instruct his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius, whom he had previously married to his daughter. Apollonius having arrived at Rome, the emperor desired his attendance; but the other arrogantly answered, that it was the scholar's duty to wait upon the master, and not the master's upon the scholar. To this reply, Antoninus only returned; with a smile, "That it was surprising how Apollonius, who made no difficulty of coming from Greece to Rome, should think it so hard to walk from one part of Rome to another;" and immediately sent Marcus Aurelius to him. Whilst the good emperor was thus employed in making mankind happy, in directing their conduct by his own example, or reproving their follies by the keenness of rebuke, he was seized with a violent fever at Lorium, a pleasure-house at some distance from Rome; where, finding himself sensibly decaying, he ordered his friends and principal officers to attend him. In their presence, he confirmed the adoption of Marcus Aurelius, without once naming Lucius Verus, who had been joined by Adrian with him in the succession; then, commanding the golden statue of Fortune, which was always in the chamber of the emperors, to be removed to that of his successor, he expired, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, after a prosperous reign of nearly twenty-two years and eight months.

U. C. 914. Marcus Aurelius, though left sole successor to
A. D. 161. the throne, took Lucius Verus as his associate
and equal in governing the state. Aurelius was the son of Annius Verus, of an ancient and illustrious family, which claimed its origin from Numa. Lucius Verus was the son of Commodus, who had been adopted by Adrian, but died before he succeeded to the throne. Aurelius was as remarkable for his virtues and accomplishments, as his partner in the empire for his ungovernable passions and debauched morals. The one was an example of the greatest goodness and wisdom; the other, of ignorance, sloth, and extravagance.

The two emperors had scarcely been settled on the throne, when the empire seemed attacked on every side, by the barbarous nations with which it was surrounded. The Catti in-

vaded Germany and Rhetia, ravaging all with fire and sword; but were, after some time, repelled by Victorinus. The Britains likewise revolted, but were repressed by Caligurnius. But the Parthians, under their king Vologeses, made an irruption still more dreadful than either of the former: destroying the Roman legions in Armenia, then entering Syria, and driving out the Roman governor, they filled the whole country with terror and confusion. In order to stop the progress of this barbarous inroad, Verus himself went in person; being accompanied, part of the way, by Aurelius.

Verus, upon entering Antioch, gave an indulgence to every appetite, without attending to the fatigues of war; rioting in excesses, unknown even to the voluptuous Greeks, and leaving all the glory of the field to his lieutenants, who were sent to repress the enemy. These, however, fought with great success; Statius Priscus took Artazata; Martius put Vologeses to flight, took Seleucia, plundered and burned Babylon and Ctesiphon, and demolished the magnificent palace of the kings of Parthia. In the course of four years, during which the war continued, the Romans entered far into the Parthian country, and entirely subdued it; but, upon their return, their army was wasted to less than half its former number, by pestilence and famine. However, this was no impediment to the vanity of Verus, who resolved to enjoy the honours of a triumph, so hardly earned by others. Wherefore, having appointed a king over the Armenians, and finding the Parthians entirely subdued, he assumed the titles of Armenicus and Parthicus, and returned to Rome, to partake of a triumph with Aurelius; which was accordingly solemnized, with great pomp and splendour.

During the course of this expedition, which continued for some years, Aurelius was sedulously intent upon distributing justice and happiness to his subjects at home. He first applied himself to the regulation of public affairs, and to the correcting of such faults as he found in the laws and policy of the state. In this endeavour, he showed a singular respect for the senate, often permitting them to determine without appeal; so that the commonwealth seemed in a manner once more revived under his equitable administration. Besides, so great was his application to business, that he often employed ten days together upon the same subject; maturely considering it on all sides, and seldom departing from the senate-house till night, when the assembly was dismissed by the consul. But, whilst thus gloriously employed, he was daily mortified with accounts of the enormities of his colleague; being repeatedly assured

of his vanity, lewdness, and extravagance. However, feigning himself ignorant of these excesses, he judged marriage to be the best method of reclaiming him; and therefore sent him his daughter Lucilla, a woman of great beauty, whom Verus married at Antioch. But even this was found ineffectual: Lucilla proved of a disposition very unlike her father; and, instead of correcting her husband's extravagancies, only contributed to inflame them. Yet Aurelius still hoped that upon the return of Verus to Rome, his presence would keep him in awe, and that happiness would at length be restored to the state. But in this, also, he was disappointed. His return only seemed fatal to the empire; for his army carried back the plague from Parthia, and disseminated the infection in all the provinces through which it passed.

Nothing could exceed the miserable state of the empire, shortly after the return of Verus. In this horrid picture, were represented, an emperor, unawed by example, or the calamities surrounding him, giving way to unprecedented debaucheries: a raging pestilence spreading terror and desolation, through all parts of the western world; earthquakes, famines, and inundations, such as had never before happened; the products of the earth, throughout all Italy, devoured by locusts; all the barbarous nations surrounding the empire—the Germans, the Sarmatians, the Quadi, and Marcomanni, taking advantage of its various calamities, and making their irruptions even into Italy itself: the priests doing all they could to put a stop to the miseries of the state, by attempting to appease the gods; vowing and offering innumerable sacrifices; celebrating all the sacred rites that had ever been known in Rome; and exhibiting the solemnity called *Lectisternia*, seven days together. To crown the whole, these enthusiasts, not satisfied with the impending calamities, making new, by ascribing the distresses of the state to the impiety of the Christians alone; so that a violent persecution was seen reigning in all parts of the empire; in which Justin Martyr, St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and an infinite number of others, suffered martyrdom.

In this scene of universal tumult, desolation, and distress, there was nothing left but the virtues and the wisdom of one man alone, to restore tranquillity, and bring back happiness to the empire. Aurelius began his endeavours by marching against the Marcomanni and Quadi, taking Verus with him; who reluctantly left the sensual delights of Rome, for the fatigues of a camp. They came up with the Marcomanni, near the city of *Acquileia*, and, after a furious engagement,

routed their whole army: then, pursuing them across the Alps, they overcame them in several contests, and at last, entirely defeating them, returned into Italy, without any U. C. 922. considerable loss. As the winter was far advanced, A. D. 169. Verus determined upon going from Aquileia to Rome; in which journey, he was seized with an apoplexy, which put an end to his life: being thirty-nine years old; having reigned, in conjunction with Aurelius, nine.

Aurelius, who had hitherto sustained the fatigues of governing not only an empire, but his colleague, being left to himself, began to act with greater diligence and more vigour than ever.

After having subdued the Marcomanni, a barbarous people who had made inroads upon the empire, he returned to Rome; where he continued his endeavours to benefit mankind, by a further reformation of the internal policy of the state.

But his exertions were soon interrupted, by a renewal of the former wars. In one of the engagements, he is said to have been miraculously relieved, when his army was perishing with thirst, by the prayers of a Christian legion, which had been levied in his service. At that dreadful juncture, and just as the barbarians were ready to attack them, we are assured, that there fell so heavy a shower of rain, as instantly refreshed the fainting army. The soldiers were seen holding their mouths and their helmets towards heaven, and receiving the water which came so wonderfully to their relief. The clouds which served for their rescue, at the same time discharged so tremendous a storm of hail, accompanied with thunder, against the enemy, as to astonish and confound them; by which unexpected aid, the Romans recovering strength and courage, once more turned upon their pursuers, and cut them in pieces.

Those are the circumstances of an engagement, acknowledged by Pagan, as well as Christian writers; only with this difference, that the latter ascribed the victory to their own, the former to the prayers of their emperor. However, Aurelius seemed so sensible of miraculous aid, that he immediately relaxed the persecution against the Christians, and wrote to the senate in favour of their religion.

This good emperor, having detected one Avidius in a conspiracy against him, and generously granted him his pardon, some who were near his person, took the liberty to blame his conduct; telling him that Avidius would not have been so generous, had he been emperor; to which, Aurelius replied, in this sublime manner: "I never served the gods so ill, or

reigned so irregularly, as to fear that Avidius could ever be conqueror." He usually called philosophy his mother, in opposition to the court, which he considered as his step-mother. He was also frequently heard to say: that "the people were happy, whose philosophers were kings, or whose kings were philosophers." He, in fact, was one of the most considerable men then in being; and though he had been born in the meanest station, his literary merits, as his works remain to this day, would have insured him immortality.

Having restored prosperity to his subjects, and peace to mankind, news was brought him, that the Scythians, a barbarous nation of the north, were up in arms, and invading the empire. He once more, therefore, resolved to expose his aged person in defence of his country, and made speedy preparations to oppose them. He went to the senate, for the first time, and desired to have money out of the public treasury. He then spent three whole days in giving the people lectures, by which they might regulate their lives; and, having finished them, departed upon his expedition, followed by the prayers and lamentations of all his subjects. Upon going to open his third campaign, he was seized with the plague at Vienna; which stopped the progress of his success. Nothing, however, could abate his desire of being useful to mankind: his fears for the youth and unpromising disposition of Commodus, his son and successor, seemed to give him great uneasiness: wherefore, he addressed his friends and principal officers that were gathered round his bed, telling them, that as his son was now going to lose a father, he hoped he should find many fathers in them. As he was thus speaking, he was seized with a weakness, which stopped his utterance, and brought him to his end the day following. He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned nineteen years, and some days; and it seemed as if the whole glory and prosperity of the Roman empire died with this greatest of the Roman emperors.

CHAPTER XXIV.

From Commodus, to the transferring of the seat of empire under Constantine, from Rome to Byzantium.

U. C. 933. THE merits of Aurelius procured Commodus
A. D. 180. an easy accession to the throne. He was acknowledged emperor, first by the army, then by the senate and people, and shortly afterwards by all the provinces.

His whole reign is but a tissue of wantonness and folly, cruelty and injustice, rapacity and corruption. There is so strong a similitude between his conduct and that of Domitian, that a reader might imagine he was going over the same reign.

He went with his associates to taverns and brothels, spent the day in feasting, and the night in the most abominable luxuries. He sometimes went about the markets in a frolic, with small wares, as a petty chapman; sometimes, he imitated a horse-courser; and at other times, drove his own chariot, in a slave's habit; while those he promoted, chiefly resembled himself; being the companions of his pleasures, and the ministers of his cruelty.

If any person desired to be revenged on an enemy, by bargaining with Commodus for a sum of money, he was permitted to destroy him, in any manner that he chose. He commanded a person to be cast to the wild beasts, for reading the life of Caligula, in Suetonius; and ordered another to be thrown into a burning furnace, for accidentally over-heating his bath. He would sometimes, when he was in a good humour, cut off men's noses, under a pretence of shaving their beards; and yet he was himself so jealous of all mankind, that he was obliged to be his own barber.

At length, at the feast of Janus, resolving to fence naked before the people, as a common gladiator, three of his friends remonstrated with him, upon the indecency of such behaviour. These were Lætus, his general, Electus, his chamberlain, and Marcia, a concubine, of whom he always appeared remarkably fond. Their advice was attended with no other effect than that of incensing him against them, and inciting him to resolve upon their destruction. It was his method, like that of Domitian, to set down the names of all those whom he intended to put to death, in a roll, which he carefully kept by him. However, at this time, happening to lay the roll on his bed, whilst

he was bathing in another room, it was taken up by a little boy, whom he passionately loved. The child, after playing with it for some time, brought it to Marcia, who was instantly alarmed at the contents. She immediately discovered her terrors to Lætus and Electus; who, perceiving their dangerous situation, instantly determined on the tyrant's death. It was agreed on, to despatch him by poison; but this not succeeding, Marcia hastily introduced a young man, called Narcissus, and prevailed upon him to assist in strangling the tyrant. Commodus died in the thirty-first year of his age, A. D. 192. after an impious reign of twelve years and nine months.

He was assassinated with so great secrecy and expedition, that few were at that time acquainted with the real circumstances of his death. His body was wrapped up as a bale of useless furniture, and carried through the guards; most of whom were either drunk or asleep.

Previous to the assassination, the conspirators had fixed upon a successor. Helvius Pertinax, whose virtues and courage rendered him worthy of the most exalted station, and who had passed through many changes of fortune, was appointed to succeed him: when, therefore, the conspirators repaired to his house, to salute him emperor, he considered their arrival as a signal from the emperor Commodus for his death. Upon Lætus entering his apartment, Pertinax, without any show of fear, cried out, that for many days he had expected to end his life in that manner, and wondered that the emperor had deferred it so long. However, he was not a little surprised, when informed of the real cause of their visit; and, being strongly urged to accept of the empire, he, at last, complied with their offer.

Being carried to the camp, Pertinax was proclaimed emperor, and soon afterwards, the citizens and senate consented; their joy at the election of their new sovereign being scarcely equal to that for the death of their tyrant.

They then pronounced Commodus a parricide; an enemy to the gods, his country, and all mankind, and commanded, that his body should rot upon a dunghill. In the mean time, they saluted Pertinax as emperor and cæsar, and cheerfully took the oath of obedience. The provinces soon after followed the example of Rome; so that he began his reign with satisfaction to the whole empire, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Nothing could exceed the justice and wisdom of this monarch's reign, during the short time it continued. But the præ-

torian soldiers, whose manners he had attempted to reform, having been long corrupted by the indulgence and profusion of their former monarch, began to hate him, for the parsimony and discipline he had introduced amongst them. They therefore resolved to dethrone him; and accordingly, in a tumultuous manner, marched through the streets of Rome, entered his palace without opposition, where a Tungrian soldier struck him dead, with a blow of his lance. From the number of his adventures, he was called the tennis-ball of fortune; and certainly no man ever experienced so great a variety of situations, with so blameless a character.—He reigned only three months.

U. C. 945. The soldiers having committed this outrage,
A. D. 192. made proclamation, that they would sell the empire to whomsoever would purchase it, at the highest price. In consequence of this proclamation, two bidders were found; namely, Sulpician and Didius; the former, a consular person, præfect of the city, and son-in-law of the late emperor Pertinax; the latter of consular rank, also, a great lawyer, and the richest man in the city. Sulpician had promises, rather than treasure, to bestow. The offers of Didius, who produced immense sums of ready money, prevailed. He was received into the camp, and the soldiers instantly swore to obey him as emperor.

Upon being conducted to the senate-house, he addressed the few members who were present, in a very laconic speech: “Fathers, you want an emperor, and I am the fittest person you can choose.” The election of the soldiers was confirmed by the senate, and Didius was acknowledged emperor, now in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

It appears by this weak monarch’s conduct, when seated on the throne, that he thought the government of an empire rather a pleasure than a toil. Instead of attempting to gain the hearts of his subjects, he gave himself up to ease and inactivity, utterly regardless of the duties of his station. He was mild and gentle, indeed, neither injuring any, nor expecting to be injured. But that avarice, by which he became opulent, still followed him in his exaltation; so that the very soldiers who elected him, soon began to detest him for those qualities, so very opposite to a military character. The people, also, against whose consent he had been chosen, were not less his enemies. Whenever he issued from his palace, they openly poured forth their imprecations; crying out, that he was a thief, and had stolen the empire. Didius, however, in the true spirit of a trader, patiently bore all their indignities; sometimes

beckoning them to approach him, and testifying his regard by every kind of submission.

Soon afterwards, Severus, an African by birth, being proclaimed by the army, began by promising to revenge the death of Pertinax.

Didius, on being informed of his advance towards Rome, obtained leave from the senate to send him ambassadors, offering to make him a partner in the empire. But Severus rejected this overture; conscious of his own strength, and of the weakness of the proposer. The senate appeared of the same opinion, and perceiving the timidity and weakness of their present master, abandoned him. Being called together, as was formerly practised in the times of the commonwealth, by the consuls, they unanimously agreed, that Didius should be deprived of the empire, and that Severus should be proclaimed, in his stead. They commanded Didius to be slain, and sent messengers for this purpose to the palace; where they found him disarmed, and despatched him, amongst a few friends who still adhered to his interest.

Severus having overcome Niger and Albinus, his competitors for the empire, next undertook the reins of government; uniting great vigour with the most refined policy: yet his African cunning, (for he was a native of Africa,) was considered as a particular fault. He is celebrated for his wit, learning, and prudence; but equally blamed for perfidy and cruelty. In short, he seemed capable of the greatest acts of virtue, and the most bloody severities.

Upon his return to Rome, he loaded his soldiers with rewards and honours; giving them such privileges as strengthened his own authority, while they destroyed that of the state. The soldiers, who had hitherto showed the strongest inclinations to an abuse of power, were now made arbiters of the fate of emperors.

Being thus secure of his army, he resolved to indulge his natural turn for conquest, and to oppose his arms against the Parthians, who were then invading the frontiers of the empire. Having, therefore, previously given the government of domestic policy, to one Plautian, a particular favourite, to whose daughter he married his son Caracalla, he set out for the East, and prosecuted the war with his usual expedition and success. He forced submission from the king of Armenia, destroyed several cities in Arabia Felix, landed on the Parthian coasts, took and plundered the famous city of Ctesiphon, marched back through

Palestine and Egypt, and at length returned to Rome in triumph.

During this interval, Plautian, who was left to direct the affairs of Rome, began himself to think of aspiring to the empire. Upon the emperor's return, he employed a tribune of the prætorian cohorts, of which he was commander, to assassinate him and his son Caracalla. The tribune informed Severus of Plautian's treachery. He at first received it as an improbable story, and as the artifice of one who envied his favourite's fortune. However, he was at last persuaded to permit the tribune to conduct Plautian to the emperor's apartments, to be a testimony against himself. With this intention, the tribune went and amused him with a pretended account of his killing the emperor and his son; desiring him, if he thought fit to see them dead, to go with him to the palace. As Plautian ardently desired their deaths, he readily gave credit to his relation; and following the tribune, was conducted at midnight, into the innermost recesses. But what must have been his disappointment, when, instead of finding the emperor lying dead, as he expected, he beheld the room lighted with torches, and Severus, surrounded by his friends, prepared in array to receive him! Being asked by the emperor, with a stern countenance, what brought him there, at that unseasonable time, he was at first utterly confounded; and, not knowing what excuse to make, he ingenuously confessed the whole, intreating forgiveness for what he had intended. The emperor seemed inclined to pardon; but Caracalla, who, from the earliest age, showed a disposition to cruelty, ran him through the body, with his sword.

After this, he spent some time in visiting some of the cities in Italy; permitting none of his officers to sell the places of trust and dignity, and distributing justice with the strictest impartiality. He then undertook an expedition into Britain, where the Romans were in danger of being destroyed, or compelled to fly from the province. Wherefore, after appointing his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, joint successors in the empire, and taking them with him; he landed in Britain, to the great terror of all those who had incurred his resentment. He stationed Geta in the southern part of the province, which had continued in obedience, and marched with Caracalla, against the Caledonians. In this expedition, his army suffered most severe hardships in pursuing the enemy: they were obliged to hew their way through intricate forests, to drain extensive marshes, and form bridges over rapid rivers; so that he lost

fifty-thousand men by fatigue and sickness. However, he supported all those inconveniences, with unrelenting bravery; and prosecuted his success with such vigour, that he compelled the enemy to beg for peace; which they obtained, not without a surrender of a considerable part of their country. It was then, that for the better security of the province, he built that famous wall, which still retains his name; extending from Solway Frith, on the west, to the German Ocean on the east.

He did not long survive these victories, but died at York, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, after an active, though cruel reign of about eighteen years.

U. C. 964. Caracalla and Geta, being acknowledged em-
A. D. 211. perors, by the army, began to show a mutual hatred, even before their arrival at Rome. But this opposition was of no long continuance; for, Caracalla having resolved to govern alone, furiously entered Geta's apartment; and, followed by ruffians, slew him in his mother's arms.

Being thus sole emperor, he went on to mark his course with blood. Whatever was done by Domitian or Nero, fell short of this monster's barbarities. His tyrannies, at length, excited the resentment of Macrinus, the commander of the forces in Mesopotamia; who employed one Martial, a man of great strength, a centurion of the guards, to despatch him. Accordingly, as the emperor was riding out one day near a little city, called Carræ, he happened to withdraw himself privately from the road, with only one page to hold his horse. This was the opportunity Martial had so long and ardently desired; wherefore, running to him hastily, as if he had been called, he stabbed the emperor in the back, so that he died immediately. Having performed this hardy attempt, he then, unconcernedly, returned to his troop; and, retiring by insensible degrees, endeavoured to secure himself by flight. But his companions soon missing him, and the page giving information of what had been done, he was pursued by the German horse, and cut to pieces.

During the reign of this execrable tyrant, which continued six years, the empire was gradually declining: the soldiers were entirely masters of every election; and as there were various armies in different parts, so there were as many interests, all opposite to each other.

U. C. 970. The soldiers, without an emperor, after a sus-
A. D. 217. pense of two days, fixed upon Macrinus, who took all possible methods to conceal his being privy to Caracalla's murder. The senate, shortly afterwards confirmed

their choice, and likewise that of his son Diadumenus, whom he took as a partner in the empire. Macrinus was fifty-three years old when he ascended the imperial throne. He was of obscure parentage, some say by birth a Moor; and, by the mere rotation of office, having been made first præfect of the prætorian bands, was now, by treason and accident, called to fill the throne.

He was opposed by the intrigues of Mæsa, and her grandson, Heliogabalus, and being conquered by some seditious legions of his own army, he fled to Chalcedon; where those that were sent in pursuit, overtook and put him to death, together with his son Diadumenus, after a short reign of one year and two months.

U. C. 971. The senate and citizens of Rome being obliged to submit as usual to the appointment of the army, A. D. 218. Heliogabalus was declared emperor, at the age of fourteen. His short life is a tissue of effeminacy, lust, and extravagance. He married, in the small space of four years, six wives; and divorced them all. He was so fond of the female sex, that he carried his mother with him to the senate-house, and demanded that she should always be present when matters of importance were debated. He even went so far as to build a senate-house for women, with suitable orders, habits and distinctions; of which, his mother was made president. They met several times; but all their debates turned upon the fashions of the day, and the different formalities to be used at giving and receiving visits. To these follies, he added great cruelty, and boundless prodigality: he was heard to say, that such dishes as were cheaply obtained, were not worth eating. It is even said, he strove to foretel what was to happen, by inspecting the entrails of young men, sacrificed; and that he chose the most beautiful youths throughout Italy, to be slain for that horrid purpose.

However, his soldiers having mutinied, as was now usual with them, they followed him to his palace; pursuing him from apartment to apartment, till at last he was found concealed in a closet—Having dragged him thence through the streets, with the most bitter invectives, and having despatched him, they treated his pampered body with every indignity they could invent, and then threw it into the Tyber, with heavy weights, that none might afterwards find it, or give it burial. This was the ignominious death of Heliogabalus, in the eighteenth year of his age, after a detestable reign of four years.

U. C. 975. To him, succeeded Alexander, his cousin-ger-
 A. D. 222. man; who, without opposition, being declared emperor, the senate, with their usual adulation, were for conferring new titles upon him; but he modestly declined them all. To the most rigid justice, he added the greatest humanity. He loved the good, and was a severe reprover of the lewd and infamous. His acquirements were equal to his virtues: he was skilled in mathematics, geometry and music: he was equally accomplished in painting and sculpture, and, in poetry, few of his time could equal him; in short, such were his talents, and so mature was his judgment, that though but sixteen years of age, he was considered as a wise old man.

About the thirteenth year of his reign, the upper Germans, and other northern nations, began to pour down immense swarms of people upon the more southern parts of the empire. They passed the Rhine and the Danube, with such fury, that all Italy was thrown into extreme consternation. The emperor, always ready to expose his person, for the safety of his people, made what levies he could, and went to stem the torrent; which he speedily effected. It was in the course of his successes against the enemy, that he was cut off by a mutiny amongst his own soldiers. He died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a prosperous reign of thirteen years and nine days.

U. C. 988. The tumults occasioned by the death of Alex-
 A. D. 235. ander, being appeased, Maximinus, usually called Maximin, who had been the chief promoter of the sedition, was chosen emperor. This extraordinary man, whose character deserves particular attention, was born of very obscure parentage; being the son of a poor herdsman of Thrace. In his early years, he followed his father's humble profession, and exercised his personal courage only against the robbers who infested that part of the country, in which he lived. However, his ambition increasing, he left his poor employment, enlisted in the Roman army, and soon became remarkable for his great strength, discipline, and courage. This gigantic man was no less than eight feet and a half high; he had a body and strength corresponding with his size, being no less remarkable for the magnitude, than the symmetry, of his person. His wife's bracelet usually served him for a thumb-ring; and his strength was so great, that he was able to draw a carriage which two oxen could not move. He could strike out a horse's teeth with a blow of his fist, and break his thigh with a kick. His appetite was as extraordinary as the rest of his endow-

ments: he generally eat forty pounds weight of flesh, every day, and drank six gallons of wine, without committing any debauch in either. With a frame so athletic, he possessed a mind undaunted in danger, and neither fearing nor regarding any man. The first time he was made known, was to the emperor Severus, who was then celebrating games on the birth-day of his son Geta. He outstripped sixteen in running, one after another: he then kept up with the emperor on horseback; and, having fatigued him in the course, was opposed to seven of the most active soldiers, and overcame them with the greatest ease. From that time, he was particularly noticed, and taken into the emperor's body guards, and, by the usual gradation of preferment, came to be chief commander; equally remarkable for his simplicity, discipline, and virtue: but, upon coming to the empire, he was found to be one of the greatest monsters of cruelty that ever disgraced power; and, fearful of nothing himself, he seemed to sport with the terrors of all mankind.

However, his barbarities did not retard his military operations, which were carried on with the greatest degree of vigour. He overthrew the Germans in several battles, wasted all their country with fire and sword, for four-hundred miles together; and formed a resolution of subduing all the northern nations as far as the ocean. In these expeditions, in order to attach the soldiers more firmly to him, he increased their pay; and in every duty of the camp, he himself took as much pains as the lowest centinel in his army; showing incredible courage and assiduity. In every engagement, wherever the conflict was hottest, Maximin was always seen combating there in person, and destroying all before him: for, being bred a barbarian, he considered it a duty to fight as a common soldier, whilst he commanded as a general.

His enormities had now so alienated the minds of his subjects, that several conspiracies were formed against him. None of them, however, succeeded, till at last, his own soldiers being harassed by famine and fatigue, and hearing of revolts on every side, resolved to terminate their calamities by the tyrant's death. His great strength, and his being always armed, were, at first, the principal reasons which deterred any from assassinating him; but, at length, having made his guards accomplices in their design, they set upon him, whilst he slept at noon in his tent, and slew both him and his son, whom he had made his partner in the empire. Thus died this most remarkable man, after an usurpation of about three years, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His assiduity, when in humble

station, and his cruelty when in power, served very well to evince, that there are some men whose virtues are fitted for obscurity, as there are others, who only show themselves great, when placed in exalted stations.

U. C. 991. The tyrant being dead, and his body thrown to
A. D. 238. dogs and birds of prey, Pupienus and Balbinus continued for some time emperors, without opposition.

But, differing between themselves, the prætorian soldiers, who were the enemies of both, attacked them, when their guards were amused with seeing the capitoline games; and, dragging them from the palace towards the camp, killed them both; leaving their dead bodies in the streets, as a dreadful instance of their sedition.

In the midst of this tumult, as the mutineers were proceeding along, they accidentally met Gordianus, the grandson of him that was slain in Africa; whom they declared emperor, on the spot. This prince was but sixteen years old when he began to reign; but his virtues seemed to compensate for his want of experience. His principal aims were, to unite the opposing members of the government, and to reconcile the soldiers and citizens to each other.

The army, however, began as usual to murmur; and their complaints were artfully fomented by Philippus, an Arabian, who was prætorian præfect. Things then proceeding from bad to worse, Philip was at first made equal in the government of the empire; shortly afterwards he was invested with the sole power, and, at length, having the means of perpetrating his long meditated cruelty, Gordian was, by his advice, slain, in the twenty-second year of his age, after a successful reign of nearly six years.

U. C. 996. Philip, having thus murdered his benefactor,
A. D. 243. was immediately acknowledged emperor, by the army. Upon his exaltation, he associated his son, a boy of six years of age, as his partner in the empire; and in order to secure his power at home, made peace with the Persians, and marched his army towards Rome. However, the army revolting in favour of Decius, his general, and setting violently upon him, one of the centinels, at one blow, clove his head asunder, separating the under jaw from the upper. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of about five years; Decius being universally received as his successor.

U. C. 1001. The activity and wisdom of Decius seemed in
A. D. 248. some measure to retard the hastening decline of the Roman empire. The senate thought so highly

of his merits, that they voted him not inferior to Trajan; and indeed he appeared in every instance to consult their dignity in particular, and the welfare of all inferior ranks of people.

But no virtues could now prevent the approaching downfall of the state: the obstinate disputes between the Pagans and the Christians within the empire, and the unceasing irruptions of barbarous nations from without, enfeebled it beyond the power of remedy. Decius was killed, in an ambuscade of the enemy, in the fiftieth year of his age, after a short reign of two years and six months.

U. C. 1004. Gallus, who had betrayed the Roman army, had address enough to get himself declared emperor, A. D. 251. by that part of it which survived the defeat. He was forty-five years old when he began to reign, and was descended from an honourable family in Rome. He was the first who bought a disgraceful peace from the enemies of the state; as he agreed to pay a considerable annual tribute to the Goths, whom it was his duty to repel. He was regardless of every national calamity, and given to debauch and sensuality. The Pagans were allowed a power of persecuting the Christians, through all parts of the state. These calamities were succeeded by a pestilence, which seemed to spread over every part of the earth, and continued raging for several years, in a manner hitherto unequalled; and all these were followed by a civil war, between Gallus and his general Æmilianus, who, having gained a victory over the Goths, was proclaimed emperor, by his conquering army. Gallus, hearing this, soon roused from the intoxication of pleasure, and prepared to oppose his dangerous rival; but he and his son were killed by Æmilianus, in a battle fought in Mæsia. His death was merited, and his vices were such as deserve the detestation of posterity. He died in the forty-seventh year of his age, after an unhappy reign of two years and four months; in which, the empire suffered inexpressible calamities.

U. C. 1006. The senate refused to acknowledge the claims of Æmilianus; and an army stationed near the Alps, chose Valerian, their own commander, to succeed to the throne; who began the reformation of the state, with a spirit that seemed to mark a good mind and unabating vigour. But reformation was then almost impracticable. The Persians, under their king Sapor, invaded Syria; and, coming into Mesopotamia, took the unfortunate Valerian prisoner, as he was making preparations to oppose them. Nothing can exceed the indignities, as well as the cruelties which were prac-

tised upon this unhappy monarch, thus fallen into the hands of his enemies. Sapor, we are told, always used him as a footstool for mounting his horse: he added the bitterness of ridicule to his insults, and usually observed, that, "an attitude like that to which Valerian was reduced, was the best statue that could be erected in honour of his victory." This horrid life of insult and sufferance continued for seven years; and was at length terminated, by the cruel Persian's commanding his prisoner's eyes to be plucked out, and afterwards causing him to be flayed alive.

U. C. 1012. When Valerian was taken prisoner, Gallienus,
A. D. 259. his son, promising to revenge the insult, was
chosen emperor; being then about forty-one years
old. However, it was soon discovered, that he sought rather
the splendours, than the toils of empire. After having over-
thrown Ingenus, a commander in Pannonia, who had assumed
the title of emperor, he sat down, as if fatigued with conquest,
and gave himself up to ease and luxury.

It was at this time, that no less than thirty pretenders were
disputing with each other for the dominion of the state, and
adding the calamities of civil war to the rest of the misfortunes
of this devoted empire. These are usually known in history
by the name of the Thirty Tyrants.

In this general calamity, Gallienus, though at first seemingly
insensible, was at length obliged, for his own private security,
to take the field, and lead an army to besiege the city of Milan,
which had been captured by one of the thirty usurping tyrants.
He was there killed by one of his own soldiers; Martian, one
of his generals, having conspired against him.

U. C. 1021. Flavius Claudius being nominated to succeed,
A. D. 268. he was joyfully received by all orders of the state,
and his title confirmed by the senate and the people.
We are not sufficiently assured of this emperor's lineage
and country. Some affirm he was born in Dalmatia, and de-
scended from an ancient family there; others assert that he
was a Trojan; and others, still, that he was a son of the em-
peror Gordian. But whatever might have been his descent,
his merits were by no means doubtful. He was a man of great
valour and ability, having performed most signal services
against the Goths, who had long continued to make their ir-
ruptions into the empire. But on his march against that bar-
barous people, as he approached near the city of Sirmium, in
Pannonia, he was seized with a pestilential fever, of which he

died in a few days; to the great regret of his subjects, and the irreparable loss of the Roman empire.

U. C. 1023. Upon the death of Claudius, Aurelianus was
 A. D. 270. unanimously acknowledged by all the states of the empire, and assumed the command with a greater share of power than his predecessors had enjoyed for some time before. This active monarch was born of mean and obscure parentage, in Dacia, and was about fifty-five years old at the time of his coming to the throne. He had spent the early part of his life in the army, and risen through all the gradations of military duty. He was of unshaken courage, and amazing strength: he killed, in one engagement, forty of the enemy, with his own hand; and above nine-hundred at different times. In short, his valour and expedition were so conspicuous, that he was compared to Julius Cæsar; and in fact, only wanted mildness and clemency, to be every way his equal. Amongst the number of those who were compelled to submit to his power, we may reckon the famous Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. He subdued her country, destroyed her city, and took her prisoner. Longinus, the celebrated critic, who was secretary to the queen, was, by Aurelian's order, put to death. Zenobia was reserved to grace his triumph, and afterwards assigned lands and an income, which served to maintain her in almost her former splendour.

His severities were at last the cause of his destruction: Mnæstheus, his principal secretary, having been threatened by him, for some fault which he had committed, formed a conspiracy against him; and, as the emperor passed with a small guard from Uraclea, in Thrace, towards Byzantium, the conspirators set upon him at once, and slew him; meeting with very little resistance. He was killed in the sixtieth, or, as some say, the sixty-third year of his age, after a very active reign of about five years.

U. C. 1028. After some time, the senate made choice of
 A. D. 275. Tacitus, a man of great merit, and no way ambitious of the honours that were offered him; being at that time seventy-five years old.

A reign, begun with much moderation and justice, wanted only continuance, to have made the empire happy; but after enjoying the government about six months, he died of a fever, in his march to oppose the Persians and Scythians, who had invaded the eastern part of the dominions.

During this short period, the senate seemed to have a large

share of authority; and the historians of the times are uniformly liberal of their praises, to those emperors who were thus willing to divide their power.

Upon the death of Tacitus, the whole army, as if by common consent, cried out that Probus should be emperor. He was forty-four years old, when he ascended the throne; was born of noble parents, at Sirmium, in Pannonia, and bred up a soldier, from his youth. He began early to distinguish himself, for his discipline and valour; being frequently the first man that, in besieging towns, scaled the walls, or that burst into the enemy's camp. He was equally remarkable for single combats, and saved the lives of many eminent citizens. Nor were his activity and courage, when elected to the empire, less apparent than in his private station. Every year now produced only new calamities; and fresh irruptions, on every side, threatened universal desolation: perhaps at this time, no abilities except those of Probus, were capable of opposing these united invasions. However, in the end, his own mutinous soldiers, taking an opportunity, as he was marching into Greece, killed him, after he had reigned six years and four months, with general approbation.

U. C. 1035. Carus, who had been prætorian præfect to the deceased emperor, was chosen by the army to succeed him; and he, to strengthen his authority, united with him in command, his two sons, Carinus and Numerian; the former of whom was as much sullied by his vices, as the latter was remarkable for his virtues, modesty, and courage.

Carus was, shortly after his exaltation; struck dead, by lightning, in his tent, with many others that were around him.

Numerian, the younger son, who accompanied his father in this expedition, was inconsolable for his death, and brought so severe a disorder upon his eyes, by weeping, that he was obliged to be carried along with the army, shut up in a close litter. The peculiarity of his situation, after some time, excited the ambition of Asper, his father-in-law; who supposed that he could now, without any great danger, aim at the empire himself. He therefore hired a mercenary villain to murder the emperor, in his litter; and the better to conceal the fact, gave out that he was still alive, but unable to endure the light. The offensiveness, however, of its smell, at length discovered the treachery, and excited a universal uproar throughout the army. In the midst of these tumults, Dioclesian, one of the most noted

commanders of his time, was chosen emperor, and, with his own hand, slew Asper; having thus, as it is said, fulfilled a prophecy, which predicted, that Dioclesian should be emperor after he had slain a Boar.*

Carinus, the remaining son, did not long survive his father and brother.

U. C. 1037. Dioclesian (classically Diocletianus) was a per-
 A. D. 284. son of mean birth: supposed, according to some, to have been the son of a scrivener; and, according to others, of a slave. He received his name from Dioclea, the town in which he was born, and was about forty years old when he was elected to the empire. He owed his exaltation entirely to his merit; having passed through all the gradations of office, with sagacity, courage, and success.

At this time, the northern hive, as it was called, poured down their swarms of barbarians upon the Roman empire. Always at war with the Romans, they issued when the armies that were stationed to repress their invasions, were called away; and upon their return, they as suddenly withdrew, into their cold and barren retreats, inaccessible to all but themselves. In this manner, the Scythians, Goths, Sarmatians, Alani, Carsii, and Quadi, came down, in incredible numbers; whilst every defeat seemed only to increase their strength and perseverance.

After gaining many victories over these, and in the midst of his triumph, Dioclesian, and Maximian, his partner in the empire, surprised the world, by resigning their dignities on the same day; and both retiring into private stations. In this contented manner, Dioclesian remained, until his death was hastened, as it is supposed, either by poison or madness. His reign continued twenty years, having been active and useful: his authority, which was tinged with severity, was well adapted to the depraved state of morals at that time.

U. C. 1057. Upon the resignation of the two emperors, the
 A. D. 304. two cæsars whom they had before chosen, were universally acknowledged as their successors. These were, Constantius, who was called Chlorus, from the paleness of his complexion; being virtuous, valiant, and merciful; and Galerius, who was brave, but brutal, incontinent, and cruel. As there was so great a disparity in their tempers,

* This piece of ancient wit is scarcely tenable, by any fair allowance of a play on words; *Aper*, in Latin, signifying a *Boar*, and *Asper* rough, disagreeable.—*Editor*.

they readily agreed, upon coming into full power, to divide the empire; Constantius being appointed to govern the western parts.

The latter died in Britain; appointing his son Constantine his successor. Galerius was seized with a very extraordinary disorder, which baffled all the skill of his physicians; and carried him off, after he had languished in torments for nearly the space of a year.

U. C. 1064. Constantine, (properly called *Constantinus*,) afterwards surnamed the Great, had at first some
A. D. 311. competitors for the throne. Amongst the rest, was Maxentius, who was at that time in possession of Rome, and a steadfast assertor of Paganism. It was in Constantine's march against that usurper, that we are assured he was converted to Christianity, by a very extraordinary appearance. One evening, it is pretended, the army being upon its march towards Rome, Constantine was occupied with various considerations, upon the fate of sublunary things, and the dangers of his approaching expedition: sensible of his own incapacity to succeed without divine assistance, he employed his meditations upon the opinions chiefly agitated amongst mankind, and sent up ejaculations to Heaven, to inspire him with wisdom to choose the path to pursue. It was then, as the sun was declining, that there suddenly appeared in the heavens, a pillar of light, in the form of a cross, with an inscription in Greek, signifying, *In this, overcome*. So extraordinary an appearance did not fail to create astonishment, both in the emperor and his whole army; who considered it as their various dispositions led them to believe. Those who were attached to Paganism, prompted by its auspices, pronounced it to be a most unlucky omen, portending the most unfortunate events: but it made a different impression on the emperor's mind; who, as the account goes, was further encouraged by visions the same night. He, therefore, the day following, caused a royal standard to be made like that which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded it to be carried before him in his wars, as an ensign of victory and celestial protection. After this, he consulted with several of the principal teachers of Christianity, and made a public avowal of that sacred persuasion. Constantine, having thus attached to his interest, his soldiers, who were mostly of the Christian religion, lost no time in entering Italy, with ninety-thousand foot, and eight-thousand horse; and soon approached almost to the very gates of Rome. Maxentius advanced from the city, with an army of one-hundred-and-seventy-

thousand foot, and eighteen-thousand horse. The engagement was, for some time, fierce and bloody, till his cavalry being routed, victory declared on the side of his opponent; and Maxentius was drowned in his flight, by the breaking down of a bridge, as he attempted to cross the Tyber.

Constantine, having entered the city, disclaimed all the praises which the senate and people were ready to offer; ascribing his success to a superior power. He even caused a representation of the cross which it was said he had seen in the heavens, to be placed at the right of all his statues, with this inscription: "Under the influence of this victorious cross, Constantine delivered the city from the yoke of a tyrannical power, and restored the senate and people of Rome to their ancient authority." He afterwards ordained that no criminal should in future suffer death by the cross; which had formerly been the usual way of punishing slaves convicted of capital offences. Edicts were soon after issued, declaring that the Christians should be eased from all their grievances, and received into places of trust and authority.

Things continued in this state for some time; Constantine contributing what was in his power to the interest of religion, and the revival of learning, which had long been upon the decline, and was almost wholly extinct throughout the Roman dominions. But in the midst of these assiduities, the peace of the empire was again disturbed, by the preparations of Maximin, who governed in the East; and who, desirous of a full participation of power, marched against Licinius, with a very numerous army. In consequence of this step, after many conflicts, a general engagement ensued, in which Maximin suffered a total defeat: many of his troops were cut to pieces, and those that survived submitted to the conqueror. Having, however, escaped the general carnage, he once more put himself at the head of another army, resolving to try the fortune of the field; but his death prevented the design. As he died by a very extraordinary kind of madness, the Christians, of whom he was the declared enemy, did not fail to ascribe his end to a judgment from Heaven; but this was the age in which false judgments and false miracles, made up the bulk of un instructive history.

Constantine and Licinius thus remaining undisputed partners in the empire, all things promised a peaceable continuance of friendship and power. However, it was soon found, that the same ambition which aimed after a part, would be content with nothing less than the whole. Pagan writers ascribe

the rupture between these two potentates, to Constantine; whilst the Christians, on the other hand, impute it wholly to Licinius. Both sides exerted all their power to make opposition; and, at the head of very formidable armies, they came to an engagement near Cybalis, in Pannonia. Constantine, previously to the battle, in the midst of his Christian bishops, begged the assistance of Heaven; whilst Licinius, with equal zeal, called upon the Pagan priests to intercede with the gods in his favour. The success was on the side of truth: Constantine, after an obstinate resistance, became victorious, took the enemy's camp, and, after some time, compelled Licinius to sue for a truce. But it was not of long continuance; and, soon afterwards, the war breaking out afresh, and the rivals coming once more to a general engagement, it proved decisive. Licinius was entirely defeated, and pursued by Constantine into Nicomedia, where he surrendered himself up to the victor, having first obtained an oath that his life should be spared, and that he should be permitted to pass the remainder of his days in retirement. This, however, Constantine shortly afterwards broke; for, either fearing his designs, or finding him actually engaged in fresh conspiracies, he commanded him to be put to death, together with Martian, his general, who, some time before, had been created cæsar.

Constantine, being thus sole monarch of the empire, resolved to establish Christianity on so sure a basis, that no new revolutions could shake it. He commanded that in all the provinces of the empire, the orders of the bishops should be exactly obeyed. He called also a general council of these, in order to repress the heresies which had already crept into the church, particularly the doctrines of Arius. To this convocation, there repaired about three-hundred and eighteen bishops, besides a multitude of presbyters and deacons, together with the emperor himself; all of whom, except about seventeen, concurred in condemning the tenets of Arius; and this heresiarch, with his associates, was banished into a remote part of the dominions.

Having thus restored universal tranquillity to the empire, he was not able to ward off calamities of a more domestic nature. As the wretched histories of this period are entirely at variance with each other, it is not easy to discover the motives which induced him to put his wife Fausta and his son Crispus to death. The most plausible account is this. Fausta, the empress, who was a woman of great beauty, but of extravagant desires, had

long though secretly, loved Crispus, Constantine's son by a former wife. She had tried every art to inspire this youth with a mutual passion; and, finding her more distant efforts ineffectual, had even the confidence to make him an open confession of her desires.

This produced an explanation, which was fatal to both. Crispus received her addresses with detestation, and she, to be revenged, accused him to the emperor. Constantine, fired at once with jealousy and rage, ordered him to die, without any hearing; nor did his innocence appear before it was too late for redress. The only reparation, therefore, that remained, was the putting of Fausta, the wicked instrument of his former cruelty, to death; she was accordingly executed, together with some others who had been accomplices in her treachery and falsehood.

But it is supposed that all the services which Constantine rendered to the empire, were not equal to recompense the evil which it sustained by his transferring the seat of government from Rome to Byzantium. Whatever might have been the reasons which induced him to this undertaking; whether it was because he felt indignant at some affronts he had received at Rome; that he supposed Byzantium more in the centre of the empire; or that he thought the eastern parts more required his presence, experience has shown that they were all weak and groundless. The empire had long before been in a most declining state; but this, in a great measure, gave precipitation to its downfall. After this, it never resumed its former splendour; but, like a flower transplanted into a foreign clime, languished by degrees, and at length sunk into nothing.

His first design was to build a city, which he might make the capital of the world, and for this purpose, he made choice of Chalcedon in Asia Minor; but we are told, that, in laying out the ground plan, an eagle caught up the line, and flew with it over to Byzantium, on the opposite side of the Bosphorus. Here, therefore, it was thought expedient to fix the seat of empire; and, indeed, nature seemed to have formed it with all the conveniences, and all the beauties, which might induce power to make it the seat of residence. It was situated on a plain which rose gently from the waters: it commanded the strait which unites the Mediterranean with the Euxine sea, and was furnished with all the advantages which the most indulgent climate could bestow. This city, therefore, he beautified with the most magnificent edifices: he divided it into fourteen

U. C. 1084. regions; built a capitol, an amphitheatre, many
 A. D. 330. churches, and other public works; and, having
 thus rendered it equal to the magnificence of his
 idea, he dedicated it, in a very solemn manner, to the God of
 Martyrs; and, in about two years afterwards repaired thither
 with his whole court. Byzantium then received the name of
 Constantinopolis, and is now called, by us, Constantinople.

The removal produced no immediate alteration in the gov-
 ernment of the empire: the inhabitants of Rome, though with
 reluctance, submitted to the change; nor was there, for two or
 three years, any disturbance in the state, until, at length, the
 Goths, finding that the Romans had withdrawn all their gar-
 risons along the Danube, renewed their inroads, and ravaged
 the country, with unexampled cruelty. Constantine, however,
 soon repressed their incursions, and so straitened them, that
 nearly one-hundred-thousand of their number perished by cold
 and hunger.

Another great error ascribed to him is, the dividing of the
 empire amongst his sons. Constantine, the emperor's eldest
 son, governed in Gaul, and the western provinces; Constan-
 tius, his second, in Africa and Illyricum; and Constans, the
 youngest, in Italy. This division of the empire, still further
 contributed to its downfal. The united strength of the state
 being no longer brought to repress invasion, the barbarians
 fought with superior numbers, and conquered at last, though
 often defeated.

Constantine was about sixty years old; and had reigned
 above thirty, when he found his health began to decline. His
 disorder, which was an ague, increasing, he went to Nico-
 media; where, finding himself without hopes of a recovery, he
 caused himself to be baptized; and, having soon afterwards
 U. C. 1090. received the sacrament, he expired, after a
 A. D. 337. memorable and active reign of almost thirty-two
 years.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the destruction of the Roman Empire, after the death of Constantine, and the events which hastened its catastrophe.

FROM this dreary period, the recovery of the empire became desperate; no wisdom could obviate its decline, no courage oppose the evils which surrounded it, on every side. Were we to enter into a detail concerning the characters of the princes of those times, it should be rather of the conquerors, not the conquered: of those Gothic chiefs, who led a more virtuous, and more courageous people, to the conquest of nations, corrupted by vice, and enervated by luxury.

These barbarians were long unknown to the Romans, and for some time after their appearance, had been only incommensurable to them. But they had now become formidable, and arose in so great numbers, that the earth seemed to produce a new race of mankind, to complete the empire's destruction. They had been increasing in their hideous deserts, amidst regions frightful with eternal snows, and had, for a considerable time, only awaited the opportunity of coming down into a more favourable climate. Against such an enemy, no courage could avail, nor abilities be successful; a victory only cut off numbers without a habitation or a name, soon to be succeeded by others, equally desperate and obscure.

The emperors who had to contend with this people, were furnished neither with courage nor conduct to oppose them. Their residence in Asia seemed to enervate their manners, and produced a desire to be adored like the monarchs of the east. Sunk in softness, they showed themselves with less frequency to the soldiers: they became more indolent, fonder of domestic pleasures, and more abstracted from the empire. Constantius, who reigned thirty-eight years, was weak, timid, and unsuccessful; governed by his eunuchs and his wives, and unfit to prop the falling empire. Julian, his successor, surnamed the Apostate, upon account of his relapsing into Paganism, was, notwithstanding, a very good and very valiant prince. By his wisdom, conduct, and economy, he chased the barbarians, who had taken fifty towns upon the Rhine, out of their own settlements; and his name was a terror to them during his reign, which lasted only two years. Jovian and Valentinian had virtue and strength sufficient to preserve the empire from immediately falling under its enemies. No prince saw the ne-

cessity of restoring the ancient plan of the empire, more than Valentinian: the former emperors had drained away all their frontier garrisons, merely to strengthen their own power at home; but his whole life was employed in fortifying the banks of the Rhine, making levies, raising castles, placing troops in proper stations, and furnishing them with subsistence. But an event, which no human prudence could foresee, brought up a new enemy, to assist in the universal destruction.

That tract of land which lies between the Palus Mæotis, the mountains of Caucasus, and the Caspian Sea, was inhabited by a numerous savage people, known by the name of Huns and Allanes. Their soil was fertile, and the inhabitants fond of robbery and spoil. As they imagined it impracticable to cross the Palus Mæotis, they were altogether unacquainted with the Romans; and remained confined within the limits which their ignorance had assigned them, whilst the other nations plundered with security. It has been the opinion of some, that the slime brought down by the current of the Tanais, had, by degrees, formed a kind of incrustation on the surface of the Cimmærian Bosphorus, over which those people are supposed to have passed. Others relate, that two young Scythians, being in full pursuit of a heifer, the terrified creature swam over an arm of the sea, and the youths immediately following her, found themselves in a new world, on the opposite shore. On their return, they did not fail to relate the wonders of the strange lands and countries which they had discovered. In consequence of their information, an innumerable body of Huns passed those straits; and, meeting first with the Goths, made that people fly before them. The Goths in consternation, presented themselves on the banks of the Danube, and with a suppliant air, entreated the Romans to allow them a place of refuge. This they easily obtained, from Valens; who assigned them several portions of land, in Thrace, but left them destitute of all needful supplies. Stimulated, therefore, by hunger and resentment, they soon afterwards rose against their protectors; and, in a dreadful engagement, fought near Adrianople, they destroyed Valens himself, and the greater part of his army.

It was in this manner, the Roman armies grew weaker; so that the emperors, finding it difficult to raise levies in the provinces, were at last obliged to hire one body of barbarians to oppose another. This expedient had its use, in cases of immediate danger; but, when that was over, the Romans found it as difficult to rid themselves of their new allies, as of their

former enemies. Thus, the empire was not ruined by any particular invasion, but sunk gradually, under the weight of several attacks, made upon it from every side. When the barbarians had wasted one province, they proceeded to another. Their devastations were at first limited to Thrace, Mysia, and Pannonia; but, when those countries were ruined, they destroyed Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece, and afterwards expatriated to Noricum. The empire was in this manner continually shrinking; and Italy, at last, became the frontier of its own dominion.

The valour and conduct of Theodosius, in some measure retarded the destruction which had begun in the time of Valens; but, upon his death, the enemy became irresistible. A large body of Goths had been called in, to aid the regular forces of the empire, under the command of Alaric, their king; but the means used to stop the universal decline, proved the most mortal stab to its security. This Gothic prince, who is represented as brave, impetuous, and enterprising, perceived the weakness of the state, and how little Arcadius and Honorius, the successors of Theodosius, were able to secure it. He was instigated still further, by the artifices of one Rufinus, who had designs upon the throne; and, at the head of his barbarous forces, declared war against his employers, and fought the armies of the empire for some years with various success. However, in proportion as his troops were cut off, he received new supplies, from his native forests; and, at length, putting his mighty designs in execution, he passed the Alps, and poured down, like a torrent, amongst the fruitful vallies of Italy.

This charming region had long been the seat of indolence and sensual delight: its fields were now turned into gardens of pleasure, which served only to enervate the possessors, from having once been a nursery of military strength, which furnished soldiers for the conquest of mankind. The timid inhabitants, therefore, beheld with terror a dreadful enemy ravaging in the midst of their country; whilst their wretched emperor, Honorius, then at Ravenna, still seemed resolved to keep up his dignity, and to refuse any accommodation. But the inhabitants of Rome felt the calamities of the times, with double aggravation. This great city, which had long sat as mistress of the world, now saw herself besieged by an army of fierce and terrible barbarians; and, being crowded with inhabitants, she was reduced, by extremities of pestilence and famine, to a most deplorable condition. In this state of misery, the senate despatched their ambassadors to Alaric; requesting him either

to grant them peace upon reasonable terms, or give them leave to fight with him in the open field. To this message, however, the Gothic monarch only replied, with a burst of laughter, that "thick grass was more easily cut, than thin;" implying, that their troops, while cooped up within the narrow compass of the city, would be more easily overcome, than when drawn out in order of battle. When they came to debate about a peace, he demanded all their riches, and all their slaves. When asked, what then he would leave them, he sternly replied: "Their lives." These were hard conditions, for a city so celebrated, to accept; but, compelled by the necessity of the times, she raised an immense treasure, both by taxation and stripping the heathen temples; and thus, at length, bought off her fierce invaders.

This was but a temporary removal of the calamity. Alaric, now finding that he might become master of Rome, whenever he thought proper, returned with his army, a short time afterwards; pressed it more closely than before, and at last took U. C. 1163. it; but whether by force or stratagem, is not A. D. 410. agreed amongst historians. Thus, that city, which for ages had plundered the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of mankind, now felt, in turn, the sad reverse of fortune, and suffered all that barbarity could inflict, or patience endure. The soldiers had liberty to pillage all places, except the Christian churches; and, in the midst of this horrible desolation, so great was the reverence of the barbarians for our holy religion; that the Pagan Romans found safety in applying to those of the Christian persuasion for protection. This dreadful devastation continued for three days; and unspeakable were the precious monuments, both of art and learning, which sunk under the fury of the conquerors. However, there still remained innumerable traces of the city's former greatness; so that this capture seemed rather a correction, than a total overthrow.

But the Gothic conquerors of the west, though they had suffered Rome to survive its first capture, now found how easy it was to become masters of it, upon any other occasion. The extent of its walls, had, in fact, made it almost impracticable for the inhabitants to defend them; and, as it was situated on a plain, it might be stormed without much difficulty. Besides this, no succours were to be expected from without; for the number of the people was so extremely diminished, that the emperors were obliged to retire to Ravenna, a place so fortified by nature, that they would be safe without the assistance of an

army. What Alaric, therefore, had spared, Genseric, king of the Vandals, not long afterwards, contributed to destroy: his merciless soldiers, for fourteen days together, ravaged, with implacable fury, in the midst of that venerable place. Neither private dwellings, nor public buildings; neither sex, nor age, nor religion, were the least protection, against their lust or avarice.

The capital of the empire being thus ransacked several times, and Italy over-run by barbarous invaders, under various denominations, from the remotest skirts of Europe, the western emperors, for some time, continued to hold the title, without the power, of royalty. Honorius lived un'til he saw himself stripped of the greater part of his dominions: his capital taken by the Goths, the Huns in possession of Pannonia; the Alani, Suevi, and Vandals, settled in Spain, and the Burgundians in Gaul; where the Goths eventually established themselves.

After some time, the inhabitants of Rome also being abandoned by their princes, feebly attempted to take the supreme power into their own hands. Armorica and Britain being forsaken, began to regulate themselves by their own laws. Thus, the power of the state was entirely broken; and those who assumed the title of emperors, only encountered certain destruction. At length, even the very name of emperor of the west expired, upon the abdication of Augustulus; and Odoacer, general of the Heruli, assumed the title of king of all Italy. Such, was the end of this great empire; which had conquered mankind by its arms, and instructed the world by its wisdom; which had risen by temperance, and fell by luxury; which had been established by a spirit of patriotism, and sunk into ruin, when the empire had become so extensive, that a Roman citizen was but an empty name. Its final dissolution happened about five-hundred-and-twenty-two years after the battle of Pharsalia; one-hundred-and-forty-six, after the removal of the imperial seat to Constantinople; and four-hundred-and-seventy-six, after the nativity of our Saviour.

THE END.

VOCABULARY

Of Proper Names, contained in this History, accentuated, in order to show their right pronounciation.

A.

Ac'tium,
 Adrian'us, }
 A'drian, }
 Agrigen'tum,
 Agrip'pa,
 Alar'ic,
 Æmil'ius,
 Amu'lius,
 Andron'icus,
 Æne'as,
 Antoni'nus,
 Anto'nus, }
 An'tony, }
 Ap'pius,
 Apu'lia,
 Arde'a,
 A'runs,
 As'drubal,
 Augus'tus,
 Aure'lius,
 Aure'lian, }
 Aurelian'us. }

B.

Bru'tus,
 Byzan'tium.

C.

Cæ'sar,
 Calig'ula,
 Calphur'nia,
 Camil'ius,
 Capre'a,

Cap'ua,
 Caracal'la,
 Cat'iline, }
 Catili'na, }
 Ca'to,
 Cic'ero,
 Claud'ius,
 Cleopa'tra,
 Collati'nus,
 Com'modus,
 Constanti'ne,
 Constan'tius,
 Cori'ola'nus,
 Cur'tius.

D.

Deceb'alus,
 Decem'viri,
 Demos'thenes
 Denta'tus,
 Diocle'sian,
 Dru'sus,
 Duum'viri.

E.

Ege'ria,
 En'nius.

F.

Fab'ius,
 Fabric'ius,
 Fescenni'na,
 Flamin'ius,
 Flav'ius,

Fu'rius.

G.

Gal'ba,
 Gallie'nus,
 Gale'rius,
 German'icus,
 Gordian'us,
 Gracch'us,
 Gratian'us.

H.

Han'nibal,
 Heliogaba'lus,
 Her'cules,
 Hora'tii.

I.

Icil'ius.

J.

Jovian'us,
 Judæ'a,
 Jugur'tha,
 Julian'us, }
 Ju'lian, }
 Ju'lius,
 Ju'piter.

L.

Lævi'nus,
 Labie'nus,
 Lar'gius,
 Len'tulus,
 Lep'idus,
 Liv'ia,
 Locus'ta,
 Longi'nus,
 Lucil'la,
 Lu'cius,
 Lucre'tia,
 Lucul'lus,
 Lucu'mon,
 Luta'tius.

M.

Macri'nus,
 Mamerti'ne
 Man'lius,
 Man'tua,
 Marcel'lus,
 Ma'rius,
 Masinis'sa,
 Maxen'tius,
 Maxim'ian,
 Maximia'nus, }
 Max'imin, }
 Maximi'nus, }
 Mecæ'nas,
 Mene'nus,
 Metel'lus,
 Messali'na,
 Mithrida'tes,
 Muti'na,
 Mu'tius.

N.

Ne'ro,
 Ner'va,
 Nu'ma,
 Numid'ia,
 Nu'mitor.

O.

Octa'vius,
 Os'tia.

P.

Papyr'ius,
 Pauli'na,
 Peloponne'sus,
 Per'tinax,
 Petro'nus,
 Pharna'ces,
 Pharsa'lia,
 Philip'pi,
 Planci'na,
 Por'sen'na,

Ptolemæ'us, }
 Ptol'emy, }
 Pupie'nus.

Q.

Quintil'ius.

R.

Raven'na,
 Reg'ulus,
 Re'mus,
 Rom'ulus,
 Ru'bicon,
 Ru'tuli.

S.

Sagun'tum,
 Sardin'ia,
 Scævo'la,
 Scip'io,
 Seja'nus,
 Seleu'cia,
 Sempro'nus,
 Sen'eca,

Ser'vius,
 Sev'erus,
 Sy'racuse.

T.

Ta'citus,
 Tan'aquil,
 Taren'tum,
 Tarpei'a,
 Tar'quin, }
 Tarquin'ius, }
 Teren'tius,
 Tibe'rius,
 Torqua'tus.

V.

Valentin'ian,
 Vale'rian,
 Vale'rius,
 Vespa'sian,
 Vitel'lius.

X.

Xantip'pus.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

GOLDSMITH'S HISTORY OF GREECE, improved by Grimshaw, with a Vocabulary of the Proper Names contained in the work, and the Prosodial Accents, in conformity with the Pronunciation of Lempriere—with Questions and a Key, as above.

Although there are many worthless School Books, there are but few which are equally impure and inaccurate with the original editions of Goldsmith's Histories, for the use of Schools. I congratulate both teachers and pupils, upon the appearance of Mr. Grimshaw's edition of the "History of Greece," which has been so completely expurgated, and otherwise corrected, as to give it the character of a new work, admirably adapted to the purpose for which it is intended.

THOMAS P. JONES,

*Professor of Mechanics in the Franklin Institute
of the State of Pennsylvania, and late Prin-
cipal of the North Carolina Female Academy.*

Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1826.

MR. JOHN GRIGG.

DEAR SIR—Agreeably to your request I have examined, with attention, "Goldsmith's Greece, revised and corrected, and a vocabulary of proper names appended, with prosodial marks, to assist in their pronunciation, by William Grimshaw;" and I feel a perfect freedom to say, that the correction of numerous grammatical and other errors, by Mr. Grimshaw, together with the rejection of many obscene and indelicate passages improper for the perusal of youth, gives this edition, in my opinion, a decided preference over the editions of that work heretofore in use.

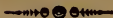
The Questions and Key, likewise supplied by Mr. Grimshaw to accompany this edition, afford a facility for communicating instruction, which will be duly appreciated by every judicious teacher.

I am, Sir,

Yours truly,

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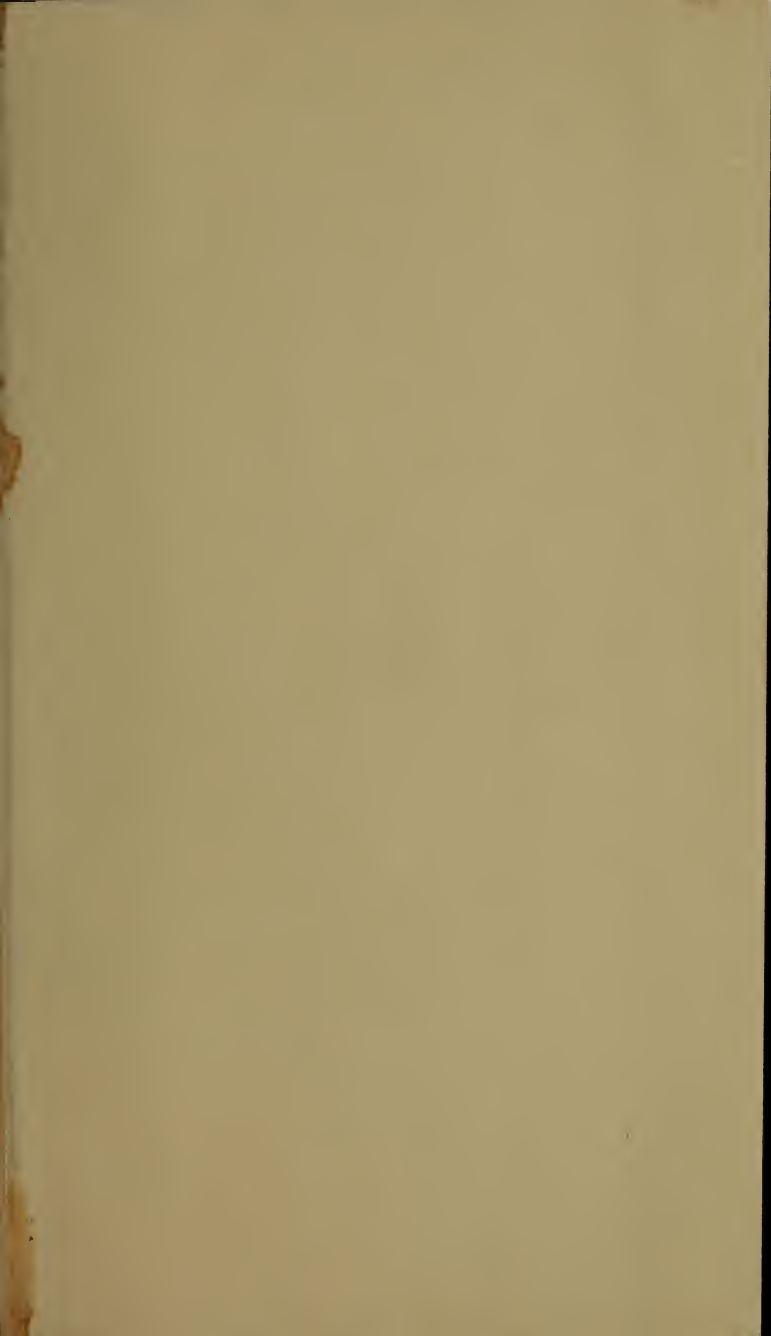
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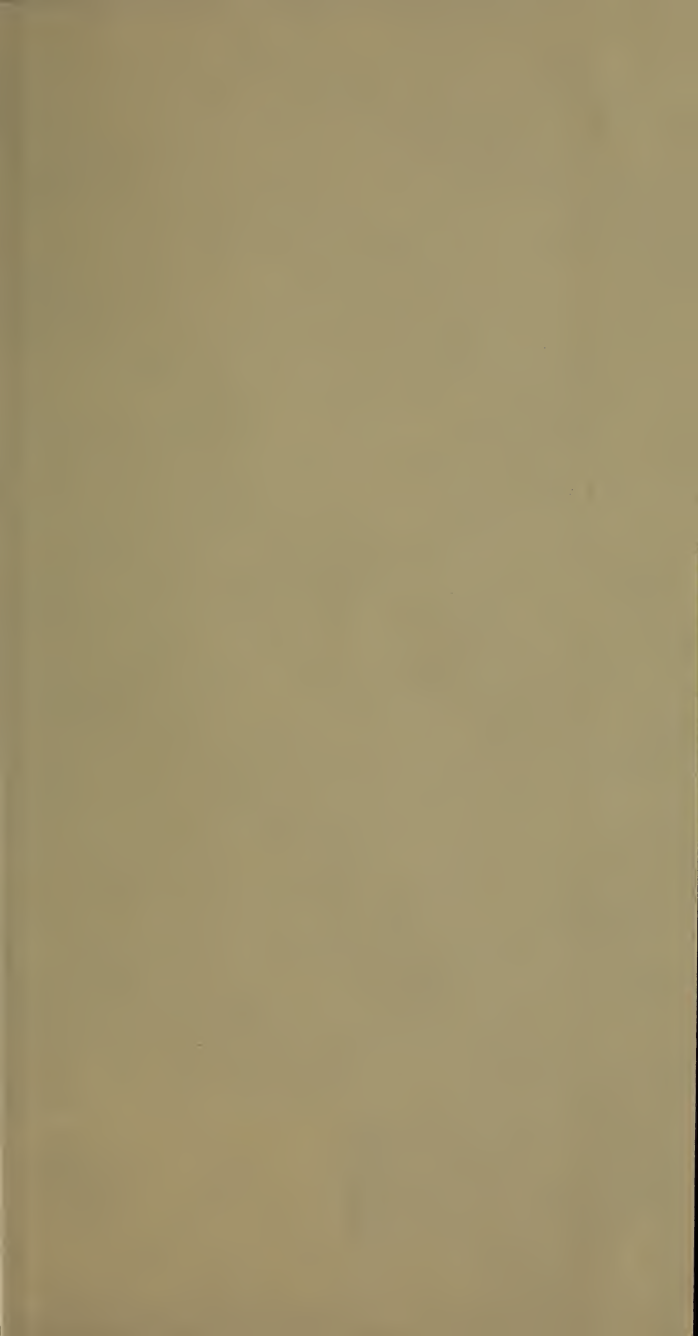
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